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Preface

This book represents an attempt to acquaint English readers with the philosophy of Ch'eng I,[1] a founder of one of the two main schools of Neo-Confucian thought, and a key man in the history of Chinese philosophy whose ideas furnish an essential clue to the understanding of the Neo-Confucian background of modern China. It is written for a triple purpose: firstly to provide literature about the great thinker, whose philosophy, owing to the lack of adequate introduction, still constitutes a missing link in the Neo-Confucian publications available in Western languages; secondly to contribute basic material to, and help clear the ground for scholars whose interest lies in the comparative study of the cultures of the East and the West; and lastly to endeavor to effect a methodological approach to the technical problem of the philosophical difference between Ch'eng I and his brother Ch'eng Hao,[2] a problem of great importance which has in recent years engaged the attention of a number of scholars. The entire source material of 52 documents has been subjected to a process of higher criticism. A large number of reliable texts have subsequently been carefully selected, translated, classified, and systematically arranged in order that the reader may have a maximum access to the philosopher's own words.

I am grateful to Prof. Horace L. Friess of Columbia University for his kind counseling and encouragement throughout the research, to Prof. Arthur Jeffery of Columbia and Union Theological Seminary and Prof. L. Carrington Goodrich of Columbia for going through the MS and making many valuable suggestions, and to Prof. Chi-Chen Wang and Dr. August Karl Reischauer of Columbia and Union, respectively, for their helpful advice.

Professor F. W. Dillistone of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., spent many an hour discussing problems of philosophy and terminology with me. He read through the MS and made many suggestions. To him I owe a great many thanks. I was also fortunate in securing the advice of Mr. E. R. Hughes, formerly Reader in Chinese Religion and Philosophy in the University of Oxford,

[1] Pronounced as *cherng yee*; 1033–1107 A.D.

[2] Pronounced *cherng how*; 1032–1085 A.D.

who during the early part of the research discussed principles of translation with me and read through most of the translated texts used in the first three chapters. His kind offer to take the responsibility of proofreading if and when the book goes to the press after I leave the country has been accepted with gratitude. Professor William Hung of Harvard University, my former teacher of historical criticism, and Prof. Derk Bodde of the University of Pennsylvania were consulted in the beginning of the project, and from them good advice has been received.

Acknowledgment is also due for the good services rendered to the author by the Far Eastern Collection of Columbia University Library and the Harvard Yenching Institute Library at Harvard. To the Right Reverend Ronald O. Hall of Hong Kong and South China and to several other friends and institutions, I owe the moral and material support which made possible our stay in the USA at a time when my country has been going through the agony of revolution. To a number of friends, I owe many thanks for their kind help in various ways during the research for and in the preparation of the MS. Last but not least, I owe a great deal to my good wife who has shared with me in the entire undertaking, and whose help, secretarial and otherwise, has been indispensable for the successful completion of the work.

Amherst, MA, USA Yung-ch'un Ts'ai
March 1950

The original version of the book was revised: City name of the author has been changed and the co-publisher text has been updated. The erratum to the book is available at *https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8566-6_8*

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Signs, Abbreviations, and Explanatory Notes

References

1. All references to the *Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng* are based on the *Ssu Pu Pei Yao* edition published by the Chung Hua Book Co., Shanghai, 1933. This edition has been used for the simple reason that it is the most easily procurable and is actually owned by many libraries, although we are not unaware of the fact that the printing is imperfect. The general order followed in all footnotes and references is: title of work, number of book, leaf, side a or b, and number of line in the page.
2. All references to the Confucian scriptures are made according to James Legge's arrangements. The order of sequence is generally: title, numbers of part, book, section, chapter, and paragraph, though it varies from book to book. References are given in this way instead of page numbers with the hope that those who do not have access to Legge's translations may still be able to find the passages.
3. References to the *I Chuan* (* IC) or *Commentary on the Book of Changes* are followed by references to the text in the *Book of Changes* on which Ch'eng I was commenting. These latter references are put in parentheses, e.g., *IC, II, 1b: 8. (YK, App.I, Hex. 15:2).
4. All references to a person's age are based on the Chinese way of calculation which counts both the year in which he was born and that in which he passed away as one year each. Hence, the figure is generally one year more than the actual number of full years lived.

Abbreviations used for the Books of the Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng

CS	*Ching Shuo*, or *Scriptural Expositions of the Master Ch'eng*
IC	*I Chuan*, or *Commentary on the Book of Changes*
ICWC	*I Ch'uan Wen Chi*, or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng I*
IS	*I Shu,* or *Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng*
MTWC	*Ming Tao Wen Chi*, or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng Hao*
SY	*Sui Yen*, or *Choice Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng*
WS	*Wai Shu*, or *Secondary Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng*

Signs and Certain Other Abbreviations

*	All passages marked with * are Class A material, because they are from Ch'eng I's own writings and are therefore most reliable. Sayings from authentic records belong to Class B and are unmarked.
#	Passages written or sayings recorded before his brother Ch'eng Hao's death in 1085 are marked with #. These may possibly reflect the latter's influence or be mixed up with his sayings.
Hex.	Hexagram: one of the 64 symbols treated in the *Book of Changes*
YK	*Yi King*, or the *Book of Changes*
YK, App. I	*T'uan*, or *Treaties on the T'uan* (as rendered in Legge's translation: the same in the following)
YK, App. II	*Hsiang*, or *Treatise on the Symbolism of the Hexagrams*
YK, App. III	*Hsi Ts'u*, or the *Great Appendix*
YK, App. IV	*Wen Yen*, or *Supplementary to the T'uan and Yao*
YK, App. V	*Shuo Kua*, or *Treaties of Remarks on the Trigrams*
YK, App. VI	*Hsü Kua*, or *Orderly Sequence of the Hexagrams*
YK, App. VII	*Tsa Kua*, or *Treatise on the Hexagrams Taken Promiscuously etc*

Texts Used

1. **Complete Works**

   The *Ssu Pu Pei Yao* printed edition, 1933.
   The *Tan Ya T'ang* printed edition, 1908.

   These are the only two printed editions the author has been able to secure. Both editions have a number of misprints, and in many cases the misprints are similar. These similar mistakes indicate that they had a common origin in some previous imperfect edition. Fortunately, most of the books included in the *Complete Works* have been published singly and are available, so that it has been possible to check the doubtful places in the texts.

2. **Single Publications**

   I Shu
   Wan Yu Wen K'u ed. = *Kuo Hsüeh Chi Pen Ts'ung Shu* ed. Commercial Press, Shanghai.

   This is a good text. Practically all the passages quoted from this important document have been checked with this text.

I Chuan
Chin Ling Shu Chü, 1866 ed. (collated and published by Li Hung-Chang): reprinted by Chiang Nan Shu Chü, 1883. A good text.
Ku I Ts'ung Shu reprint of the Yüan (Dynasty) Chih Cheng edition of 1349.

All doubtful places in the *Complete Works* editions have been checked with either one or both texts.

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 The Man and the School

1.1.1 Chinese Philosophy in the Early Sung Period

The period of Sung (960–1278 A.D.) has been called the golden age of Chinese philosophy.[1] It was a time when the nation suffered from the military invasions of her northern neighbours. But at the same time her arts and learning, especially philosophy, soared to a height rarely seen in Chinese history. Indeed, as Prof. Ch'en Yin-k'o has put it, the birth of Sung Neo-Confucianism was the one event for which 1200 years of the history of Chinese thought had been a preparation.[2] It was the one event because after long centuries of contact and competition with native Taoism and imported Buddhism, Confucianism, the main trend of indigenous thought, was finally able to take control of the situation, assimilate what was complementary in both and develop a fuller system of its own. The beginnings made by the masters of Classical times were brought to maturity by the Sung philosophers. Upon the foundation of the former, a gigantic superstructure was built. The patterns of thought thus formulated have been moulding Chinese life for the last 900 years until the impact of Western philosophy was felt in the latter part of the last century.

Confucianism began with Confucius (551–479 B.C.) and was developed by Tzu Ssu, Confucius' grandson, Mencius (371–289 B.C.), Hsün Tzu (fl. c. 298–238 B.C.) and a number of thinkers whose names have been lost to us.[3] In the post-Classical

[1]The term "philosophy" is used in the broad sense. Cf. statement at the beginning of Chap. 2—See Liu I-cheng, *Chung Kuo Wen Hua Shih*, Book II, chap. XVIII, esp. p. 96; *Forks, Geschichte der neueron chinesischen Philosophie*, pp. 5–8.

[2]Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Exarination Report III", Appendix, *History of Chinese Philosophy* by Fung, Chinese Ed.

Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance*, p. 88.

[3]For instance, "Author B" of *the Doctrine of the Mean*, the author of the *Great Learning*, and the authors of the "Appendices" of the *Book of Changes*.

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period, which fell in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.), scholars were chiefly engaged in the collection, collation, textual criticism and work of commenting on the scriptures. Meanwhile, philosophical Taoism resurged and reached the height of prosperity roughly from 100 A.D. to 300 A.D. Then, Buddhism became powerful and occupied the stage from that time until the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the eleventh century, that is from 300 to 1000 A.D. in round numbers.

The year 1000 A.D., however, does not mark a weakening of Buddhist influence. It marks only the beginning of the new force, namely Neo-Confucianism, which was soon to take its place in the mind of thinking Chinese. Ch'anism, which was then the most popular among the Buddhist sects, was a great power. Devout Confucians of that time deplored the fact that nearly all scholars had gone over to Ch'anism.[4] Neither had Taoism diminished in influence. Great philosophers like Chou Tun-I, Shao Yung, Chang Tsai and Ch'eng Hao[5] all studied Taoism at one time or another during their lives.[6] For about nine hundred years after the period of Classical Confucianism, the Chinese mind had been steeped in Taoism and Buddhism. Though long centuries of influence, the teachings of these two religions had provided, as it were, axioms for the life of the people. Buddhism had been teaching about the analysis of the mind and about the enlightenment which leads to the emancipation of life and to the achievement of Buddhahood. Taoism had been teaching about the ways and means of attaining immortality. Consequently, the matter of ultimate concern for the thinking people of the eleventh century was the nature and destiny of man. They did not find any attraction in Confucianism, because Classical Confucianism dealt chiefly with man's ethical conduct on the plane of everyday life. It did not take up the more ultimate questions. Although as early as the T'ang Dynasty, Han Yü (768–824 A.D.) and his disciple and friend Li Ao (died c.844) in their controversy with Buddhism and apologetics in defence of Confucianism did bring out certain aspects of Confucian teaching which came nearer to meeting the need of the times, their influence was but little felt. In the Sung period, there arose a number of great Confucian masters, such as Hu Yüan (993–1059), Shih Chieh (1005–1045), Fan Chung-yen (989–1052), Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–1072) and Szu-ma Kuang (1019–1086). But they taught traditional Confucianism in the traditional way and failed to answer the spiritual demand of the people of the age.

[4]For example, WS, XII, 7a: 18f.

[5]*ICWC, VII, 6a: 12.

[6]See "Pioneers of Neo-Confucianism" below.

1.1.2 Pioneers of Neo-confucianism

The great contribution of the Neo-Confucian masters lies in the fact that they were able to see the challenge of the times and dared to break away from the traditional way of interpreting Confucian scriptural teaching. They picked out those portions from the scriptures which had direct bearings on the questions everybody was asking, and interpreted them in terms which were familiar to the men of their age. This was not all. Having gone into the question of human nature and its destiny, those masters were further able to point out the mistakes of both Taoism and Buddhism in their negligence of social duties and to direct the way to perfect manhood through the fulfilment of daily obligations which is part and parcel of Confucian teaching.

The first great master to pioneer in this line of approach was Chou Tun-I (1017–1073) also known as the Master of Lien Ch'I. His most important contribution was the establishment of a cosmological basis for Confucian ethics, this having been weak in traditional Confucianism. He based his system chiefly on a text in the Appendix of the *Book of Changes*[7] which reads, "In the *I* there is the Supreme Ultimate, which produced the two Forms". Developing the concepts of the Supreme Ultimate, the two energies of yin and yang, and the five elements of water, fire, wood, metal, and earth, he tried to explain how the universe came into being, what man's position in it is, what constitutes the ethical norm, and how man may attain sagehood or perfect manhood. He even went so far as to make use of a Taoist diagram to illustrate his teaching. It is interesting to note how by the use of a Taoist term "Wu Chi" or "The Ultimate" in the opening of his famous treatise "T'ai Chi T'u Shuo" or "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained", he roused a great controversy among Confucian scholars, especially between Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan, over the question whether the treatise could have been written by Chou Tun-i.[8]

A second great master of this period is Shao Yung (1011–1077) who called himself "An Lo Hsien Sheng" or the "Master of Happiness". His essential contribution is also cosmological though naturally he did not stop there. He was said to have learned a number of diagrams from a great Taoism named Li Chih-ts'ai.[9] These diagrams were chiefly concerned with the trigrams and hexagrams and their constituent parts. By various ways of arranging these symbolisms, Shao Yung was able to elucidate a system of cosmology which was the most comprehensive of all those produced by the Neo-Confucianists. He also made a Chronological Diagram of the History of the World, in which he developed a cyclical view of history. According to him, the golden age of the world fell in the time of Yao, a legendary sage-emperor said to be of the twenty-fourth century B.C. History is thus

[7] YK, Appendix III, I, XI, 70.

[8] *Sung Yüan Hsüeh An*, XII. For a reproduction of the diagram and an English version of the Explanation see Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, p.128 ff.

[9] *Sung Yüan Hsüeh An*, IX.

on the decline, until the present cycle comes to an end when another will make a new start. His metaphysical and ethical teachings as revealed in the "*Kuan Wu P'ien*" or "*Treatise on the Observation of Things*" covered practically all the important concepts taught by the other great Neo-Confucianists, for example, the Supreme Ultimate, Tao, spirit, Li or natural law, T'ien Li or the heavenly law, human nature, destiny, ch'i or energy, numbers, the problem of good and evil, and sagehood. His teaching impresses one as being very extensive and diffuse. A certain degree of crystallization is reached in the doctrine that the right attitude of life is one which is objective, impartial and disinterested towards life and all things.

A third master of the formative period of Neo-Confucianism to be mentioned is Chang Tsai (1020–1077), also known as the Master of Heng Ch'ü. In his younger days, he was fond of the study of military tactics. He visited Fan Chung-yen, a great Confucian scholar-statesman, who persuaded him to study the *Doctrine of the Mean*. This set him on a quest for truth. He was a man of strict discipline and strenuous endeavour. He had some background of Buddhist and Taoist learning. Now, he devoted all his energy to the study of the Confucian scriptures. After long years of hard work and quiet meditation, he emerged with a system of thought that was to leave a permanent stamp on the history of Chinese thought.

His greatest contribution is the concept of Ch'i or energy. Ch'i means other. It is here rendered "energy" because it comes near to the idea of energy in modern physics. He explained the generation and destruction of all things by the condensation and dispersion of energy. He also declared that "the Great Void is energy", which is a powerful and obvious denial of the Buddhist idea of vacuity. This concept of Ch'i later became one of the foundation stones of Neo-Confucian thought. From his time on, the great masters continued to teach it until about a century later Chu Hsi made it one of the main concepts in his great synthesis.

Although Chang Tsai's main contribution is cosmological, his metaphysical and ethical teachings derived from his cosmology are not to be ignored. His most important writing in this connection is the famous "Hsi Ming" or "The Western Inscription", which has been translated into English, French and German.[10] The main idea of the "Hsi Ming' is that since all men and all creatures and things are of the same Ch'I, the body of Heaven and Earth are, as it were, my own body, all men are my brothers, and all things and creatures are my kin. Heaven and Earth are to be served as my parents. All who are in need are to be helped as members of the family. Elsewhere he taught that the sage sees all things as if they were all part of himself. A perfect man does not identify himself with his small self, but considers himself co-extensive with the universe.[11]

[10]See Bibliog., 1, 13–15.

[11]Based on *Chang Tzu Ch' üan Shu*. See also *Sung Yüan Hsüeh An*, XVII–XVIII.

1.1.3 Ch'eng I and His Brother Ch'eng Hao

Chou Tun-i, Shao Yung and Chang Tsai represent the first phase of Neo-Confucianism, when creative thinking was chiefly directed towards the understanding of the universe outside of man and man's relation to it. By the time Chang Tsai expounded his doctrine, Neo-Confucian cosmology had reached a point of maturity, and the stage was set for a development in some other direction. This was taken up by the brothers Ch'eng Hao (1032–1085) and Ch'eng I (1033–1107). The two brothers were contemporaries of the three cosmologists. While they were still in their teens, their father introduced them to Chou Tun-i under whom they studied for a time. But in their mature years, they followed their own lines of thinking and did not claim Chou Tun-i as their master.[12] They lived in the same city with Shao Yung and were close friends of his. They had frequent discussions with him over philosophical questions.[13] But the two brothers did not agree with Shao Yung in the numerical interpretation of the *Book of Changes*.[14] Change Tsai was a cousin of the father of the Ch'engs. There was much that they could share with him, though they did not always agree with him. Ch'eng I thought that Chang Tsai reached his conclusions by rigorous thinking and not by intuitive enlightenment so that his opinions are often onesided and his mental state strained and he did not hesitate to tell him so.[15] But he thought extremely highly of Chang Tsai's "*Western Inscription*" and recommended it for careful study to his disciples.[16]

The contribution of the two Masters Ch'eng lies in the fact that in their hands Neo-Confucianism as a new doctrine came to be fully established.[17] Although they did not agree completely with the teachings of the three cosmological masters, they nevertheless endorsed many of their ideas while they developed their own lines of thought. All the new ideas thus evolved they attempted to work into the traditional Confucian teaching. The net result was the emergence of a new and comprehensive system (or systems) of thought which has all the metaphysical and cosmological aspects in which the man of that age was deeply interested, and yet which remains a teaching essentially Confucian in spirit, pointing to the achievement of perfect manhood as the goal of life. The full and natural expression of this ethical goal was to be found in nothing other-worldly, but rather in the service of men and in building up of an ideal social order. The systems thus built up represented the new Orthodoxy of Confucianism which was virtually a fulfilment of the old and from which the Neo-Confucianists have not departed since.

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[12]They referred to him by name instead of calling him master. Ref. e.g. ICWC, Appendix 5a: 3–5.
[13]Ibid.
[14]WS, XII, 6b: 6–7; ICWC, Appendix 3b:1–2.
[15]*ICWC, V, 4a.
[16]*ICWC, V, 12a: 13ff.; IS, XVIII, 11b: 5–8; WS, XII, 13b: 10.
[17]Ch'ien Mu, "Erh Ch'eng Hsüeh Shu Shu P'ing", *Ssu Hsiang Yü Shih Tai*, No. 45.

1.1.4 Philosophical Differences of the Two Brothers and the Question of Methodology

The Ch'eng brothers asserted that they represented the true succession of Confucian orthodoxy.[18] Ch'eng I, who survived his elder brother by twenty-two years, told his disciple Chang I in his latter days that his teaching and that of his brother were the same.[19] Indeed, that was the prevalent belief of all their disciples. It is not to be denied that they had many things in common, and yet it is equally certain that they had many divergences. They were similar in that they both held scriptural Confucianism to be the norm of all thinking, both were devoted to the study and transmission of the learning concerning Li or natural law, human nature and destiny based on the scriptures, and both were interested in training disciples who would be able to live up to the Confucian ideal of sagehood. But from the point of view of modern philosophy they seemed to be essentially different in their fundamental presuppositions. Forke, for instance, thinks that Ch'eng Hao is more synthetic while Ch'eng I is more analytic, that the former is more inclined to idealism while the latter more inclined to realism, and that the former is a Monist while the latter is a dualist.[20] Dr. Fung Yu-lan believes that the main issue between the two was one of fundamental philosophical importance. "It was one as to whether the laws of nature are, or are not, legislated by the mind or Mind. That has been the issue between Platonic realism and Kantian idealism, and may be said to be the issue in metaphysics".[21]

In trying to make a thorough-going distinction between the philosophical systems of the two masters, however, the student is faced with a great problem in the source material. Each brother left behind rather scanty writings of his own. Ch'eng Hao wrote nothing that could be called a book, while Ch'eng I left only one which is complete. All that we find in their respective *Collected Writings* are chiefly official documents, letters, miscellaneous articles, etc. The main bulk of their teachings was preserved not in their own writings but in their sayings noted down by their disciples. Now the difficulty arises first that any recorded saying, unless it is a verbatim record, is by its very nature not absolutely reliable. There is no guarantee that it represents accurately the idea of the person who is supposed to have said it. This is especially true when these notes were written by men in the eleventh century when shorthand systems were unheard of. However, comparing the notes by different disciples of what looked like the same saying made on the same occasion, we find that there was a wide variety in the disciples' ability to understand the minds of the masters, in the selection of the contents to be put down, and in the words and expression used and the orders followed.[22] A careful study also gives the

[18]*ICWC VII, 7b: 6–9; op. cit. Preface, 6b: 7–9; 7a: 4–5; op. cit., II, 8a: 7–9.

[19]ICWC, Contents, 7a: 4–5.

[20]Alfred Forke, op. cit., p. 72.

[21]Fung, Short Hist. of Chinese Philosophy. p. 281.

[22]For example, IS XV, 3b: 10–4a: 8 = 9b: 13–10a: 4, 11–10b: 4. Again IS, XV, 4b: 10 = 15b: 7 = 17b: 5 = 18b: 5. See Introduction Sect. 1.2, Footnote 98.

impression that many of the notes were not written down on the spot, but look more like having been recorded from memory. This might have been only a matter of a few hours, but the exact expressions, etc., would thus partially lost or altered.

The other and even more serious difficulty is that for some years[23] the two brothers taught in the same place with a joint following. The disciples who believed that their points of view were identical, and whose one purpose was to learn the doctrine for their own edification, did not think it necessary to distinguish the sayings of the one from the other, with the result that many of the sayings were indiscriminately collected together in the same notebook without any indication as to which item was said by which one of the two masters. One good example of this is Book I of the *I Shu* recorded by a disciple by the name of Li Yü. Ch'eng I during his life had seen these notes and had commented that they were good and accurate notes. When a student of the history of philosophy gets hold of such a document, he would naturally expect to rely on it as an authoritative source. But unfortunately, Li Yü rarely attached names to the sayings to that there is no clear way of telling which was made by which master. The same is also true of a number of other records. Of the fifteen books of sayings in the *I Shu* recorded by various disciples before the elder of the brothers died in 1085, only four books were labelled as sayings of Ch'eng Hao and one labelled Ch'eng I. All the rest were simply sayings of "the two Masters". This difficulty continues until the death of Ch'eng Hao.

1.1.5 Methods of Research

Because of the difficulty just stated and because of the importance of distinguishing between the philosophical systems of the two Masters, it seems essential to work out a method by which the difficulty may be overcame. The steps of the methodology the writer proposes to adopt are as follows:

(1) Since the purpose of this study is to work out the distinctive systems of the two Ch'eng Masters whose source material is partially intermingled, it is advisable to deal first with those parts of the source material which are identifiable, with a hope that the result thus gained will help towards the identification of some of the important sayings found in the unidentified sources.
(2) Following the same principle, it seems wise first to study Ch'eng I who is the younger of the two and deal with Ch'eng Hao afterwards, for the obvious reason that Ch'eng I left more writings behind him than Ch'eng Hao did. The number of recorded sayings labelled with his name is also much larger than that of his brother. The case being so it would seem easier to find out Ch'eng I's system than Ch'eng Hao's.

[23]For example in 1072–1075 A.D. both brothers were at home in Loyang. See *Sung Ch'eng Ch'un Kung Nien P'u* (Chronology of Ch'eng Hao) by Yang Hsi-min, 12a, b.

(3) In the study of Ch'eng I, data which came from Ch'eng I's own writings are to be treated as Class A, and those which came from the disciples' records are to be treated as Class B or C depending on the merits of the respective records.
(4) Among Ch'eng I's recorded sayings only those definitely marked to be his are to be used, all the rest are to be strictly avoided.
(5) Among Ch'eng I's sayings labelled with his name, those recorded after 1085 (namely the year of his brother's death) are to be regarded as more valuable than sayings before that date: for two reasons. Firstly, as the brother was then dead, there was no chance whatsoever for the disciples to confuse their sayings. The other reason is that while both brothers were teaching, it is always possible that they would have influenced each other in ideas and expressions. After 1085 when Ch'eng Hao was dead and when Ch'eng I grew from his fifties to his seventies, his ideas would have gradually crystalized into something which was to become more and more definitely his own.
(6) After the completion of the study on Ch'eng I, it is logical to go on with a study of Ch'eng Hao in the same manner.
(7) After Ch'eng Hao's system is worked out, one may proceed to make a study of what might be called the "common material" of the two brothers. Having thus made out the distinctive systems of the two, one might find it easier to identify some of the significant yet unidentified sayings without great risk of mistake.

The author is conscious of the fact that by following this methodology some of the most important and often quoted sayings will have to be left untouched until the very last step. But he is convinced that this is the only scientific and sure way to arrive at dependable conclusions. It was the author's original plan to follow through the whole process of study. Unfortunately, having had to work under the pressure of time, he regrets that he was forced to limit himself to the study of Ch'eng I alone, leaving the rest to some future opportunity.

1.1.6 Ch'eng I (1033–1107 A.D.)

1.1.6.1 His Parents

Born in 1033 A.D. only one year after his brother Ch'eng Hao,[24] Ch'eng I came from a typical Confucian scholar-official family. His father, who lived to eighty-five years of age, and survived Ch'eng Hao, spent most of his life in the civil service.[25]

[24]*ICWC, VII, 6a: 5; IS, Appendix 7b: 2; 12a: 10. The year "Kuei Yu" in which Ch'eng I was born lasted from Feb 3, 1033 to Jan 22, 1034.
[25]ICWC, VIII, 1b: 7–8.

He was described by Ch'eng I as a calm detached Confucian who was fond of the practice of long quite meditations, lived simply, and was Stoic towards life's adversities, being not easily disturbed by external circumstances.[26] His mother[27] was beautiful and a rare character. Highly intelligent, she was during childhood taught by her father to read and write as few girls were. She wrote poems, was fond of history, and often discussed public affairs with her father with such a degree of understanding that the latter was reported to have sighed in surprise, "Alas, would that you were a boy!" She gave birth to six sons and four daughters, of whom only the two masters and two of their sisters lived to adulthood.[28] The way she taught her children was admirable. Ch'eng I ascribed his simplicity of living, carefulness of speech, control of temper, the love of helpful friends, and a number of other good habits to her education and influence.

1.1.6.2 His Character: A Sketch

Ch'eng I and his brother grew up to be quite different in character. The brother was gentle, poetic, friendly, and generally attractive, while Ch'eng I was a lonely man characterized by an attitude of seriousness. He was not interested in writing poems, although three poems are found in his works.[29] He did not make jobs.[30] He looked serene and solemn.[31] It was said that on the way to his banishment in Fu Chou in Szechuan, on crossing the Han River, there was an accident and the boat was on the verge of turning over. All the people on board screamed in agitation. Ch'eng I alone sat quietly as if nothing were happening. The story goes on that upon arrival at the other shore an elderly man who was on the same boat asked him why he had been able to be so calm. Ch'eng I answered and said, "Simply because I have been practicing an attitude of sincerity and reverent devotion". The old man said, "It is good that you are making such good efforts in your mind. But it would be even better if you would do away with your mind altogether". Ch'eng I wanted to have further talk with him, but he was gone.[32]

Now to come back to Ch'eng I's seriousness. He thought a great deal about the significance of being a teacher and was extremely serious about it. His brother Ch'eng Hao early saw his possible contribution in this respect when he predicted

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[26]*Ibid., 5b, "Life".

[27]*Ibid., 6a ff, "Life".

[28]Ibid., 1a: 13.

[29]*ICWC, IV, 5a: 7f; 7a; IS, XVIII, 42b: 11 ff.

[30]WS, XII, 16b: 13f.

[31]IS, XXII A, 10a: 11ff; WS, XII, 3a: 5–9; 11a: 4–7; 12a: 8 ff.

[32]WS, XII, 3b: 3–5. Cf. 17a: 6–7; 18b: 13 ff. Among the three different versions of the same story the one here quoted seems the best.

that if any man were ever going to raise the position of the teacher to a level of high dignity it would be Ch'eng I.[33] And this he did. An anecdote is related in the writing of his wife's brother Hou Chung-liang, which will serve as a good sketch.[34] Two of his prominent disciples Yu Cha and Yang Shih had just come to follow him. In one of those early days, they want together to visit their master in his residence. It happened that the master was sitting in quiet meditation with his eyes closed. The two disciples approached him with fear and trembling. Then feeling that the only adequate thing to do was to stand by his side without disturbing him and reverently keep him company like sons with a father, they very quietly took up their positions beside him. Hours must have elapsed before the master opened his eyes. He took notice of them and said in a dignified air: "Are you still here, boys? It is getting late, you may go home and rest". They had come in under a bright sun. But when they went out they stepped into snow which had piled one foot deep. Later when he became Expositor of Canonical Texts at the imperial court,[35] he insisted that as a teacher it was not right for him to follow the modern practice of giving his lectures standing. The right way was to do it sitting down.[36] The then highly respected Prime Minister Wen Yen-po was present at some of those lectures. People who had seen them together in the lecture hall were impressed by the contrast between the reverent attitude of the premier and the dignity of Ch'eng I.[37] In spite of all that has been said, however, there is a complementary side to his character which needs to be mentioned in order to give a fair picture of our philosopher. This again can best be represented by an incident. In a little pond in front of Tzu Shan T'ang where His Majesty's Expositors of Canonical Texts had their offices, some little pet fishes were kept. Ch'eng I was so fond of them that when he had to leave the capital suddenly, he thought of the fishes and what would happen to them when winter came. Being unable to do anything about it himself he sent a message to Fan Tsu-yü, Compiler of the Han Lin Academy, requesting his favour to put the little fishes into the river so that they might be safe during the cold weather.[38] Ch'ang I was himself conscious that he lacked the appearance of ease and gentleness[39]; he evidently found it part of his constitution and could not help it. But at heart he was tender and compassionate.[40]

[33]IS, Appendix 12a: 12 ff.
[34]WS, XII, 7b: 13 ff.
[35]See Footnote 43.
[36]*ICWC, II, 3b: 8–10; 11a: 11.
[37]WS, XII, 3a: 5–9.
[38]WS, XII, 2a: 10–11.
[39]IS, XXII A, 10a: 11 ff.
[40]Cf. *ICWC, IV, 6af; IS, XXII A, 3b: 2–3.

1.1.6.3 His Career

Ch'eng I's career was that of a teacher. To a devout Confucian like Ch'eng I, teaching was not a mere profession. It amounted almost to what we call a vocation or divine mission to transmit the Tao. Before his brother's death, Ch'eng I was engaged in nothing else but teaching in his private home. When his brother died, the responsibility of supporting his father, his brother's family and his own fell upon his shoulder. He had to go into civil service in order to earn an income.[41] By the recommendation of three eminent ministers,[42] he was appointed Expositor of Canonical Texts at the Ch'ung Cheng Hall[43] in the year 1086, and it was now his duty to take turn with a few others to expound the Confucian scripture to the emperor. He was overjoyed with the golden opportunity that had so suddenly opened up to him. In a letter to the Empress Dowager who was then reigning for the young Emperor Che Tsung, he told the former that he could not have chosen anything better for himself. He also said that every time he was about to lecture he practised the ancient ritual of fasting with a hope that what he was going to say would move the heart of the emperor.[44] In another letter, he said that his earnest wish was that the emperor might be helped to understand the teaching of the sages so that the Empire might enjoy once more the good government which was realized in the golden age of China's past history.[45] In still another document also addressed to the Empress Dowager, he expressed his conviction that the responsibility in the Empire fell upon the Prime Minister and the Scripture Expositor.[46] The former is responsible for peace and order, while the latter is responsible for the moral achievement of the emperor.

Che Tsung was then a young boy. Ch'eng I thought that at such an impressionable age it was extremely important that the young emperor should hear nothing but virtuous words and associate with no one except upright people. He suggested in the first place that a careful selection of men of true virtues be made to fill the offices of the Scriptural Expositors, two of whom were to accompany the emperor by day and one by night. Secondly, he recommended that all whose duty was to wait upon the emperor in private be picked from among people over forty-five years of age who were of an upright character. Thirdly, he requested that ten eunuchs be chosen to serve as assistants to the Expositors in looking after the emperor's moral discipline.[47] Later, he further requested that three boys of from ten to twelve years old (which presumably was the age group to which the boy emperor belonged) be chosen from among the children of the ministers to serve as schoolmates of the

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[41]*ICWC, VIII, 5b: 12 f.

[42]Ssu-ma Kuang, Lü Kung-chu, and Han Chiang. See *ICWC, II, 13b: 2; IS, Appendix 7b: 13.

[43]The Chinese official title is *Ch'ung Cheng Tien Shuo Shu*.

[44]*ICWC, II, 5b: 2f; 7b: 13f.

[45]*Op. cit., II, 15b: 2.

[46]*Op. cit., II, 4a: 2–3.

[47]*Op. cit., II, 2b: 4f; 3a: 8–12.

emperor; that the lecture hall Mi Ying Pavilion being small and hot, it be moved to the Yen Ho Hall; and that twice a month the lectures be given in the Ch'ung Cheng Hall during which the Prime Minister and the Grand Tutor were to be present.[48]

His reputation as His Majesty's Scriptural Expositor soon won him a large following. But the seriousness with which he carried out what he felt to be his supreme mission and his persistent emphasis on the strict observance of Confucian propriety in court and national affairs also won him not a few enemies.[49] Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih, 1036–1101), the great romantic poet, was then Scholar in the Han Lin Academy[50] and Reader to the Emperor.[51] He too had a great following. But because of his particular temperament, he had a strong dislike for Ch'eng I, and especially for his adherence to Confucian rituals. This attitude was soon shared by his followers and became known to Ch'eng I and his disciples. Partisan feelings consequently developed. Su Tung-p'o's group was known as the Shu Tang (or Szechuan Party), while Ch'eng I's group was called the Lo Tang (or Loyang Party).[52] It happened one day when court ministers wanted to go and mourn the death of the great statesman Ssu-ma Kuang straight from a meeting celebrating a certain happy occasion, Ch'eng I objected that it was not proper, because it is said in the *Analects* that "the Master did not sing on the same day in which he had been weeping".[53] Someone in the crowd refuted this by saying: "But it was not written that he did not weep on the same day he had been singing". Upon that Su Tung-p'o teased Ch'eng I with some outrageously insulting words, which provoked uproar of laughter in the crowd. The incident was resented by Ch'eng I's party and a breach was thus begun.[54] Things went from bad to worse. Ch'eng I was soon accused by an imperial counsellor K'ung Wen-chung (who was said to be under Su Tung-p'o's influence)[55] of presumptuous words and manners in the presence of the Emperor and was degraded and transferred to an unimportant position.[56] Reckoning from the day he was appointed to the day he was degraded Ch'eng I was in office for only a total of seventeen months. After that, his political experience was one of discouragement and frustration. Ten years later, in 1097, at the age of sixty-five, when Wang An-shih's followers,[57] under the leadership of Chang Tun, had returned in

[48]*Op. cit., II, 7a: 5ff; 7a: 13f; 7b: 2–5.

[49]IS, Appendix 8b: 12 ff; 10b: 5ff; *ICWC, III, the whole book.

[50]Han Lin Yüan Hsüeh Shih.

[51]*Shih Tu*. See Ch'en Pang-chan, *Sung Shih Chi Shih Pen Mo*, Book XLV.

[52]IS, Appendix 11b: 4.

[53]*Analects*, VII, IX.

[54]Ch'en Pang-chan, Ibid; IS, Appendix 10b: 5-11b: 6. Cf. Lin Yutang, *The Gay Genius*, pp. 262–263.

[55]IS, Appendix 11a: 6.

[56]Ibid. Also WS XII, 19 af.

[57]A radical political party known as the Hsin Tang or New Party. See Ch'en Pang-chan, op. cit. Book XLVI; Liu I-chang, op. cit., Bk. II, Ch. 19.

power, Ch'eng I being associated with the leaders of the conservative party was first degraded and deprived of rank, then banished to Fu Chou in West China. During his banishment, he never ceased to teach disciples. He also found time to finish his *Commentary on the book of Changes.*[58] In 1100, he was pardoned and returned to his home in Loyang. There he got into trouble again three years later (1103) when the Radical Party was once more in power. He was accused of heretical teaching. An imperial decree ordered all his official documents to be destroyed and all his private writings to be censored. He had to leave his home and live elsewhere, and to prevent disciples from coming to him. In 1106, he was pardoned and reappointed to office. He declined the appointment. The following year he died at home at the age of seventy-five.[59]

1.1.6.4 His Writings

In a letter to Chu Ch'ang-wen discouraging him from his literary ambitions Ch'eng I said, "The sages and the worthies resorted to writing (lit. words) only because they could not help it. For they realized that by saying what they do say the Li is made clear, and that without saying what they do say, there is something lacking in the understanding of the Li. Therefore even though the sages should want to abstain from expressing themselves in words could they do it? However, the words they said were generally very brief in spite of the fact that they contain principles of universal application. It is otherwise with men of later generations, who, as soon as they handle a book, make literary production their first purpose. The amount they write is always more than that which was done by the sages. But they are superfluous words in that with them nothing is added and without them nothing is found lacking. Not only are they superfluous, but because they miss what is essential, they are bound to stray from truth, deviate from what is correct, and be detrimental to the Way".[60] To Ch'eng I, the sole purpose of literature is to serve as the means of giving expression to truth or the Tao. If no truth is to be expressed,one had better keep silent. That was why for himself he purposely delayed all plans for writing until after sixty. Even though he lived to be seventy-five years of age, the amount of writing he left behind him was extremely meagre considering his intellectual capacity.

The most important and the only complete book that he wrote was the *I Chuan* or *Commentary on the Book of Changes*, which contains mainly his practical ethical teaching, especially with regard to what a Confucian scholar-official ought to do in various types of situations. A good many valuable insights concerning metaphysics, cosmology and anthropology lie embedded in the *Commentary*, but it is not always easy to extract these passages from the contexts, yet they are of paramount value

[58]Ch'en Pang-chan, op. cit., Book XLVI; IS, Appendix 11b: 7–10.

[59]IS, Appendix 12a.

[60]*ICWC, V, 7a: 5–9. Of. also IS, XXIV, 3b: 1–2; IS, XVIII, 29b: 13f.

not only because they were his own writings but also because they represent his mature thoughts.

The only other book which he wrote, but which he did not finish, is the *Ch'un Ch'iu Chuan* or *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*. He planned to elucidate the scores of principles of political ethics that he found in the book.[61] But unfortunately, he was only able to go so far as the middle of the second of a total of sixteen books.

Both Ch'eng I and his brother attempted a rearrangement of the ancient text of the *Great Learning*.[62] Upon the basis of these rearrangements Chu Hsi made some further alterations and wrote his commentary. These rearrangements later aroused protests from Wang Yang-ming (Shou-jen, 1472–1529)[63] and others.

Ch'eng I's other writings consisted of letters, documents on public affairs and writings of varied nature and length which can be found in the *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng I*. The rest are all sayings recorded by his disciples. A complete list of all the writings and recorded sayings of Ch'eng I and his brother is given at the beginning of Sect. 1.2 of the Introduction.

1.1.6.5 Why Ch'eng I Is Little Known in the West

Among the leading Neo-Confucian philosophers Ch'eng I occupies a position of primary importance. Chu Hsi the best known of all claimed him as his master in the Confucian succession and held his teaching as the criterion of right doctrine. But with the exception of Shao Yung, Ch'eng I has been the least known to Western scholars. The reasons for this are not far to seek. In the first place, Ch'eng I, as has just been said, left practically no readable literature of any considerable length which can be profitably translated into Western languages. In the second place, the records of his sayings which contain the major portion of his philosophical teaching are bulky, unsystematic and of varying degrees of authenticity. Nothing like Chou Tun-i's *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*, or Chang Tsai's "Western Inscription", or Ch'eng Hao's "*Shih Jen P'ien*" ("A Discourse on the Mature of Jen"), can be found which will represent a crystallization of his mature thoughts. The only bit of writing of his that has appeared in English is his article translated by P. C. Hsu entitled "What did Yen Hui Delight in?"[64] Unfortunately that was written when he was only about twenty, and the article reflects a certain amount of the teaching of Chou Tun-i. It is because of his lack of readable literature and because

[61] *CS, IV, Preface, 1a: 13; *ICWC, V, 14b: 5–8.

[62] CS, V.

[63] Wang Yang-ming, "Preface to the Ancient Edition of the *Great Learning*" (Ta Hsüeh Ku Pen Hsü) *Yang Ming Ch' üan Shu*, Book 7, p. 12a. An English Tr. Of this Preface may be found in Henke, *Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*, p. 494 ff. See also Chung T'ai, *Chung Kuo Che Hsüeh Shih*, p. 31 f.

[64] P. C. Hsü, *Ethical Realism in Neo-Confucian Thought*, Appendix, pp. xv–xviii. See essay in Sect. 7.1.

of the unwieldiness of his voluminous recorded sayings that attempts have been made at various times to produce an abridged and more or less classified edition of the sayings.[65] But these do not suit the purpose of modern students, because they were selected chiefly for the moral edification of the reader and not from the point of view of trying to understand his philosophical system.

For the above reasons writings both by and about Ch'eng I are very scarce in European languages. It was not still 1938 that Alfred Forke published a chapter on Tsch'eng I in his *Geschichte der neueren chinesischen Philosophie*.[66] This so far as the author knows was the first significant writing about Ch'eng I to appear in the West. It remained the only important writing until this last year (1948), when Prof. Fung Yu-lan's *Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, edited by Prof. Derk Bodde, appeared, in which there is a brief chapter on the Ch'eng brothers.[67] Prof. Fung has also a longer chapter on "Chang Tsai and the two Ch'eng Brothers" in his earlier *History of Chinese Philosophy* which was written in Chinese and which has been translated into English by Prof. Bodde.[68]

In spite of the admirable efforts made by Prof. Fung and Alfred Forke in trying to present Ch'eng I to the West, these scholars were by the very nature of their books obliged to write briefly. So far as original data are concerned, apart from the small number of quotations the authors were able to insert into their chapters, Ch'eng I still remains a closed book to the West. Moreover, among the quotations made from Ch'eng I, Prof. Fung was only able to give one from the former's own writings,[69] while Alfred Forke gave none. It is therefore the humble intention of the present writer to present to English readers the philosophical system of Ch'eng I, in which a selection of source material is given, including both his own writings and recorded sayings, carefully chosen from authentic documents and logically arranged, so that this great philosopher whose teaching has so much to do with the development of Chinese thought can be known from first-hand knowledge.

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[65]For example: Chu Hsi (1130–1200), *Chin Ssu Lu* (which includes recorded sayings of the Ch'eng brothers, Chou Tun-i and Chang Tsai); Lü Jan (1479–1542), *Erh Ch'eng Tsu Ch'ao Shih*, 10 bks; Li Kuang-ti (1642–1718), *Erh Ch'eng Tzu Ch'ao Shih*, 10 bks; Li Kuang-ti (1642–1718), *Erh Ch'eng Tzu I Shu Ch'uan*, 2 bks; Chang Pai-hsing (1651–1725), *Erh Ch'eng Yü Lu*, 18 bks.

[66]Pp. 85–104.

[67]Chap. 24.

[68]This is Chap. 12 of vol. II, to appear in the English version.

[69]From *IC, IV, 20b: 7–9, in *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. II, Chap. XII, p. 872 Chinese edition.

Table showing the main editions of the complete works of the two Masters Ch'eng

Edition	Sung: Ch'un-yu (1241–1252) Chang Chi Ed.	Yüan: T'an Shan-hsin Ed.	Ming: Ch'eng-hua Ed.	Ming: Hung-chih Ed.	Ming: Hsü Pi-ta Ed.	Ch'ing K'ang-hsi (1662–1722): Lü Ed.
Date	(1241–1252)	1323	1472	1498	(1592–1623)	(1662–1683)
Editor	Chang Chi	T'an Shan-hsin	Yen Yü-hsi	K'ang Shao-tsung	Hsü Pi-ta (Fl. 1592–1623)	Lü Liu-liang (1629–1683)
IS	25	25	25	28	8[g]	25
APP.	1	1[a]	1	1		1
WS	12	12	12	12		12
MTWC	?	5C[b]	5HC[e]	5H[f]		5
ICWC	?	8C	8HC	8H		8
APP.	?	1	3	1		2
Aββ	0	(1)[c]	0	2		4
IC	?	0	8	0		8
CS	0	(8)[d]	0	8		2
SY		0		0		
Total	?	53 + (8)	62	65	68	67

[a]This book of the Appendix was not mentioned in Yü P'an's postscript in ICWC, App., 14a: 5f, but judging from Chou Tz'u-ch'en's remark in his postscript that no variant edition had been seen of the *I Shu* and the *Wai Shu*, we may safely infer that the Appendix compiled by Chu Hsi was included

[b]"C" means Chu Hsi's text, see Sect. 1.2.3 on "Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi"

[c]See Introduction Sect. 1.2, Footnote 112, l, a, b

[d]T'an Shan-hsin said that he intended to edit and print the work with which was in 8 books, but no report of its ever being done has been found. See ICWC, Appendix, 2a: 4

[e]"HC" means both the texts of Hu An-kuo and Chu Hsi are preserved. See Ting Ping, *Shan Pen Shu Shih Ts'ang Shu Chih*, BK. IV, 9b–10b

[f]Chou Yü-pin, *Hui K'e Shu Mu* recorded the MTWC and ICWC as edited by Hu An-kuo

[g]*Ssu K'u T'i Yao* mentioned Hsü Pi-ta's edition of the *Ching Shuo* as of 8 books. See reprint in the front part of the *Complete Works*, 3b f

1.2 Critical Evaluation of the Source Material

The primary source upon which the present study is based is the *Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu*, or *Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng*. It includes the following books[70]:

[70]The books are given here as six in number. But bibliographers have also listed them as seven, because the *Wen Chi* can be counted as two books.

- *Erh Ch'eng I Shu*, or *Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng*,
- *Erh Ch'eng Wai Shu*, or *Secondary Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng*,
- *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi*, or *Collected Writings of the Two Masters Ch'eng*,
- *I Chuan*, or *Commentary on the Book of Changes,*
- *Ch'eng Shih Ching Shuo*, or *Scriptural Expositions of the Master Ch'eng*, and
- *Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen*, or *Choice Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng*.

These represent the contents of the current edition, which has a long history behind it. The accompanying table shows the various stages the book had gone through before it took the present form. A historical statement of this may be found in the Appendix of the present book. It is sufficient here to mention a few significant points. Firstly, the idea of putting all the sayings and writings of the Ch'eng brothers together occurred first to a Sung scholar by the name of Chang Chi,[71] who, in making printed editions of the *I Shu*, the *Wai Shu*, the *Wen Chi* and the *Ching Shuo* about 140 years after the death of Ch'eng I, called then the "Four Books of the Ch'engs". Secondly, the title *Erh Ch'eng Ch' üan Shu*, or the *Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng,* was first introduced by Li Hsien[72] in the 1472 edition and has since become the regular title of the collection. Thirdly, the "four books" pattern of Chang Chi was followed by the second, third and fourth main editions shown in the table. The inclusion of the *I Chuan* and the *Sui Yen* in the Complete Works took place after the 1498, i.e., the fourth main edition. Fourthly, whether the *I Chuan* and the *Sui Yen* were first introduced into the *Complete Works* by the Hsü or the Lü edition, we are unfortunately unable to tell before we have fuller information about the contents of the Hsü edition, which was printed about three and a half centuries ago, and which has now become a rare book.[73] Lastly, the current edition which we trace back to Lü Liu-liang,[74] and which was edited and printed between 1662 and 1683, impresses us as being a good edition. This impression is supported by expert bibliographical opinion.[75]

Critical studies of the various books of the *Complete Works* were made by the editors of the *Imperial Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu* in 1787.[76] They did a pretty good job on all of them except the *Sui Yen*, where they made a mistake. Since then, no comprehensive attempt has been made. For the purpose of the present research, it is imperative to work over the 52 documents contained in the six books in order to make a critical evaluation of each one of them. Tables of critical information and evaluation are printed in Appendix A.

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[71] See Appendix D, Footnote 1.

[72] Ibid., 3.

[73] Ibid., Table Footnote a in Sect. 1.1.6.5.

[74] Ibid., 6.

[75] Ibid., Footnote 13.

[76] See *Ssu K'u T'i Yao* critical reports reprinted in the front part of the *Complete Works*.

1.2.1 Erh Ch'eng I Shu, *or* Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng

Twenty-five books, plus Appendix, one book.
Edited by Chu Hsi, 1168 A.D.

Erh Ch'eng I Shu consists of twenty-five sets of notes of the sayings of Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I taken down by disciples during the days when they sat at their feet. These notes were made in the vernacular literature in China.[77] Like most notes written by students the notes taken in those days were not meant for publication but for personal reminder and were not intended, therefore, to give verbatim reports. After the death of the two masters, the disciples felt more and more the importance of these notes, and they began to copy each other. In the process of copying alterations, interpolations, and rearrangements began to take place, until in Chu Hsi's time good manuscripts became extremely rare.[78]

Chu Hsi, who claimed the two Ch'eng brothers as his masters in the succession of orthodox Confucian tradition, was eager to gather together all the writings by and about the masters. He found in his family collection several copies of the sayings of the Ch'engs, each with the name of the person who took the notes. The continuity of thought and uniformity of style found in these notebooks suggested to Chu Hsi that they had not been tampered with by later hands. He took these as patterns and set forth to hunt for more of the kind. As a result of his efforts, he succeeded in collecting twenty-five sets of them. These he arranged into twenty-five books, the texts and titles of each of which remained intact. The volumes were arranged in chronological order according to the probable dates in which the sayings were heard. An excellent table of contents was prepared in which critical notes were given under the heading of each volume, telling us whose sayings they were, that is whether they were sayings Ch'eng Hao, or Ch'eng I, or both; by whom the notes were made, if the author is known at all; the date and place of the sayings; how the text had been secured; information as to the dependability of the records; and the reason why the volume was put in that particular place, etc.

This table of contents, which is here translated and printed in the Appendices, is followed by a preface in which he tells us how the books were gathered together and edited. He also discusses the question of the difficulty in making accurate notes on matters of the inner life and warns readers not to trust all the records without scrupulous examination.

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[77]Vernacular literature began in the T'ang period (618–907 A.D.) when Ch'an Buddhists used the spoken language to record the teachings of their masters. The disciples of the Ch'eng brothers were the first ones in the Confucian school to practice the same. See Ch'ien Mu, "Sung I Hsia Chung Kuo Wen Hua Chih Chü Shih", *Ssu Hsiang Yü Shih Tai*, no. 31.

[78]IS, Preface.

Besides the twenty-five sets, he also collected eight articles all of which contain valuable materials concerning the life and teaching of the two masters. For example, one of these articles was "A Description of the Deeds of Ch'eng Hao" written by Ch'eng I; another was the "Chronicles of Ch'eng I" which Chu Hsi himself had compiled. These he arranged into one book which was attached to the *I Shu* as an appendix. The preface to the appendix was dated 1168 A.D.

The care which Chu Hsi handled these documents inspires the reader with a deep sense of confidence. He was quite strict about preserving the texts as he found them. Whenever any word or sentence in the text was obviously erroneous, he never would allow himself or anyone else to tamper with it, but would rather make a footnote expressing his own opinion. Many such instances can be seen in the books as we now have them. When he found unauthentic sayings in the notes of Ch'ang Ch'ien-tao, he quoted Hu An-kuo's similar opinion to confirm his own and explained in the critical notes that was why he placed the volume at the end of the collection as a sort of appendix. On the whole one feels one may rest assured that through Chu Hsi we have inherited a number of the best accruable copies extant in his day of the notes of the sayings of the two Ch'eng brothers taken down by their disciples, and that through his editing the original texts were collected and an edition produced which to a very high degree was worthy to become the textus receptus. It is this edition which has been reprinted many times, and so has come down to us today.

However, Chu Hsi's scientific care can only enable us to read the notes as he found them sixty-one years after the death of Ch'eng I and eighty-three after that of Ch'eng Hao. It cannot enable us to recover the original words of the masters. The fact that notes taken down by disciples are not always dependable is something of which Chu Hsi was fully conscious. He told the story that when Ch'eng I was living, a disciple by the name of Yin T'un showed him the notes taken by Chu Kuang-t'ing[79] asking his opinion as to whether they were correct. He answered and said, "So long as I live, what need have you to read such a book? If he has not understood my mind, what is written is but his own opinion".[80]

In the *I Shu,* we are told that Ch'eng I commented upon the notes taken by Li Yü as being the best of all. He said he had read them, and had found that Li Yü understood what he said, and that his notes were as a rule correct.[81] This was quoted by Chu Hsi and was made the reason for placing Li Yü's notes as the first volume of the book.[82] But even Li Yü was not entirely free from mistake.[83]

Chu Hsi in his discussions with disciples often found occasion to express his opinion upon the quality of the various records, which is of great value for our

[79]WS, I and II are "Gleanings" from Chu Kuang-t'ing's MSS. But these were said to be compounded with notes taken by other disciples. See WS, Contents, la.

[80]IS, Preface.

[81]IS, XIX, 4a: 12 ff.

[82]IS, Contents. Li Yü's notes are now seen in IS, I.

[83]Ibid.

references. He said that Li Yü's notes were true, plain and broad[84]; Lü Ta-lin's notes were true[85]; Liu Hsüan's notes were brief yet clear and true, recording the essence[86]; Hsieh Liang-tso's notes were astounding, three-tenths of them being his own opinion[87]; Yu Cha's notes were hesitant and erroneous[88]; Chang Yi laid too much emphasis on the literary style with the result that the original meaning is something distorted[89]; while the notes of Liu An-chieh and Pao Jo-yü were too much detailed.[90]

How much these records are to be trusted as authentic sayings by the masters is therefore a real problem. Chu Hsi said that it would be a mistake to take them as if they represent the subtle and hidden meaning of the masters.[91] He warned scholars to handle them with critical discrimination, bearing in mind always who it was who took the notes. That was why he preserved the names of the note-takers.[92] But the more fundamental method he suggested was that scholars should try to apprehend the thoughts of the masters in their broad outlines, then proceed to live according to the principles of life laid down by Ch'eng I,[93] which to him was the way of life for a true Confucian. By thus living out the true way of life from day to day, one would gradually grow to understand the mind of the masters. Then, one would be enabled to distinguish readily between true and false sayings.[94]

When he was discussing the dubious nature of Hsieh Liang-tao's notes Huang Chen, a great thirteenth-century Confucian scholar of the Ch'ang I and Chu Hsi School suggested another criterion for the critical judgment of such material. He said: "That which is in accordance with the teachings of Confucius and Mencius is to be considered a true record of Ch'eng saying, that which diverges from Confucius and Mencius is to be considered erroneous".[95]

Neither of these suggestions is satisfactory for our purposes. It is true that sympathetic understanding is the key to the knowledge of other people's minds,

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[84]Chu Hsi, *Chu Tzu Ch'üan Shu*, LIII, 36ab, 37a.

[85]Ibid., 36a. Lü Ta-lin was the recorder of IS, IIA; IIB was also ascribed by some to him. See IS, Contents.

[86]Chu Hsi, loc. cit., Liu Hsüan(Chih-fu) was the recorder of IS, XI–XIV.

[87]Ibid., 36b, 37a. Hsieh Liang-tso (Hsien-tao) contributed IS, III. In the critical note under the title in the Contents, Chu Hsi tells us that Hsieh Liang-tso had said that when he was studying under the two masters, he did not take any notes as everyone else did. These notes, therefore, must be his reminiscences.

[88]Ibid., 36ab, 37a. Yu Cha (Ting-fu) was the writer of IS, IV.

[89]Ibid., 37b. Chang I (Ssu-shu) was the recorder of IS, XXIA.

[90]Ibid., 37a. Liu An-chieh (Yüan-ch'eng) was the writer of IS, XVIII, while Pao Jo-yü (Ju-lin) was the writer of IS, XXIII. Both of them were disciples from Yung Chia.

[91]IS, Preface, in Contents, 3b: 12.

[92]Chu Hsi, loc. cit., 35b, 36b.

[93]IS, Preface, in Contents 3b: 13ff.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Huang Chen, *Huang Shih Jin Ch'ao*, XXXIII, 6a. (Huang Chen's exact dates are difficult to find; but he qualified for the Chin-Shih degree in 1256).

especially in the study of philosophy and religion. It is also true that the Confucian tradition may be used as a partial check on the authenticity of some of the sayings. But it is out of the question to ask modern scholars to practice the Confucian life in order to understand the mind of the Ch'eng brothers. It is again too narrow to presuppose that no saying could have been said by the Ch'eng which does not fall within the limits set down by the teachings of Confucius and Mencius.

One would naturally prefer to rely exclusively on the writings of the Ch'eng brothers for their philosophical teachings. If it were possible to do so, the question of the authenticity of the notes would have been reduced to insignificance. Unfortunately, this is not possible because of the fact that the bulk of the philosophical data is found in these notes. As a matter of fact, scholars previous to Chu Hsi, facing these very difficulties, had suggested that one need only read the writings of the Ch'eng brothers, such as Ch'eng I's *Commentary on the Book of Changes* (*I Chuan*) without bothering about the recorded sayings. But Chu Hsi felt that that would be absurd. He said that to do so would be as advisable as for a Confucian scholar to study only the six classics without studying Confucius' *Analects* and the book of Mencius.[96] Indeed, there are inaccuracies in the notes. But the latter are not to be lightly discarded just because of them.

The way the present writer proposes to establish the authenticity of the sayings in these records is threefold:

(1) By the evidence of the records
The evidence of the records in regard to a saying may be considered relatively good when the record comes from a reliable hand such as that of Li Yü. It may also be considered relatively good although not so good as the above class when the saying is backed up by two or more recorders whose notes were not stigmatized by any Sung scholar as actually unreliable.[97] One might add in this connection that for a thorough-going study of the teachings of the two Ch'eng brothers, the whole of *I Shu* would need to be carefully indexed, and all the versions of a similar saying gathered compared and studied. This would involve a piece of research quite comparable to, if not more complicated then, the study of the teaching of Jesus in all four of the Gospels, and is definitely beyond the scope of time and space which the present project can provide. But the evidence of the notes is after all only relative in nature. It has to be supported by other evidence for the establishment of absolute authenticity. This is especially necessary when diverse versions of a saying are borne out by equally strong pieces of evidence in the notes.

(2) By the evidence of the Confucian tradition
This has been suggested by Huang Chen. When the authenticity of a saying is dubious, it may be checked by the general trend of thought found in the Confucian tradition, especially the tradition which was in vogue during the life time of the Ch'eng brothers. But again this alone would not suffice.

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[96]Chu Hsi, loc. Cit., 35b.

[97]E.g. IS, Contents, WS, Contents, Chu Hsi loc.cit.

(3) By the evidence of the writings of the Ch'eng brothers
This may be done in two ways. In the first place, the writings of the two brothers may be studied with a view to gain their general philosophical concepts. These general concepts may then be used as a criterion for the discrimination of material. In the second place, passages from the writings may be used to bear evidence for or against a recorded saying the authenticity of which is in question.

This last criterion can often provide the strongest evidence and must be used whenever possible. But when it is not possible, a good case can still be built up if the other parts of the evidence are found to be in agreement with one another. A combined use of this threefold way will restore to us the original teachings of the two brothers with fair clarity.[98]

[98] Critical Notes about IS, XV:

IS XV is specially interesting not only because of the unusual insight, some of its recorders showed, but also because of the critical problems it raises. With regard to the recorder's insight, the reader is referred to Sect. 2.3.1.1. With regard to the critical problems, the writer's findings are as follows:

(1) IS, XV is a record of the sayings of Ch'eng I and not of Ch'eng Hao: Chu Hsi noted that the MS was believed by some to be the recorded sayings of Ch'eng Hao. But he was right in ascribing the sayings to Ch'eng I, for internal evidence is strongly in favour of his view. Many sayings in the book are found in other parts of the *Complete Works* where sayings or writings were definitely ascribed to Ch'eng I. E.g.,

a. IS, XV, 3b: 7–8 = IS, XVIII, 12b: 6–10; XXIA, 3a: 3–9.
b. IS, XV, 4a: 4–5 = XVIII, 5a: 7–9.
c. IS, XV, 4b: 2–3; cf. *ICWC. VI, 5a: 7–5b: 7.
d. IS, XV, 6b: 8 = 14a: 9 = IS, XXIIA, 10b.

(2) IS, XV is a composite record of notes taken down by more than one disciple listening to the same discussions: This view is strongly supported by internal evidence. There are many cases where the same sayings appear more than once in the book, some appear even as many as four times. For example,

3b: 10 = 9b: 13ff;
3a: 4 = 10b: 6;
4b: 10 = 15b: 7; = 17b: 5; = 18b: 5;
6b: 8 = 14a: 9;
6b: 10 = 15a: 11;
4b: 7 = 14b: 6;
15b: 6 = 18b: 9.

There is also a tendency for sayings to reappear in groups, e.g.
1a: 7, 8, 10, 13; 2a: 11 = 11b: 6, 11a: 3, 13, 7; 11b: 9; 16a: 1.

(3) A comparative study of the parallel records revealed the fact that most if not all of the notes were not taken down verbatim. They were probably written after the discussions were over. For this reason the contents and order of the recorded conversations are as a rule quite varied.

1.2.2 Erh Ch'eng Wai Shu *or* Secondary Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng

Twelve books.
Edited by Chu Hsi, 1173 A.D.

Erh Ch'eng Wai Shu is a second collection of the sayings of Ch'eng Hao and Ch'eng I edited by Chu Hsi five years after the compilation of the *I Shu* and as its by-product. We have mentioned that practically all the disciples of the Ch'eng brothers took down the sayings of the masters while they studied under them.[99] As time went on, they began to compare notes and copy each other in order that they might not leave out anything important. But as material accumulated, it became almost inevitable that for convenience of reference sayings of a similar nature were put together no matter when they were said and by whom they were written. Thus in a document of this kind the individual character of the original notebook was completely lost. When Chu Hsi was searching for material for the *I Shu*, he came across many such manuscripts. He intended to trace them back to the note-takers, and publish them as appendices to the *I Shu*.[100] But evidently he did not succeed. Therefore, he had to resort to another way of handling the material. He read through eleven collections of such a nature, copied down all the sayings which he had not seen in the *I Shu* and edited them in eleven books of "gleanings", the title to each being "Gleanings from Such and Such Manuscript".[101]

To these books thus edited he gave the title *Wai Shu*, which means a secondary collection. The reason he gave for this was that the material had either come from heterogeneous sources or from untraceable origins. Because of this, he said, the sayings were to be used with even greater discrimination than those contained in the *I Shu*.[102]

The material in the first eleven books of the *Wai Shu* is therefore still less authentic than the *I Shu*. For an exhaustive study of the teachings of the Ch'eng brothers, it would be useful to make use of sayings in the *Wai Shu* for comparison. But for the present dissertation, since we have already a large amount of better material in the *I Shu*, the writer does not think it necessary to touch them at all.

Book XII of the *Wai Shu*, however, is a different matter. It consists of sayings and anecdotes of the Ch'eng brothers which Chu Hsi had copied down from twenty known sources which were either books, collected works, notes or other writings of the contemporaries of the Ch'eng brothers, including collections of the sayings of several of their disciples who had themselves become great scholars.[103] So far as

[99]IS, Contents, 1a: 10; 3a: 12f.
[100]IS, Preface: in Contents, 4a: 2–4.
[101]WS, Contents; see also Preface in 2a.
[102]WS, Preface.
[103]WS, Contents.

authenticity is concerned, therefore, material in most parts of this book is to be classified as "B" and treated accordingly.

1.2.3 Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi *or* Collected Writings of the Two Masters Ch'eng[104]

This contains the following:

Ming Tao Wen Chi, or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng Hao*

Five books.
Compiler unknown
Edited by T'an Shan-hsin, 1323 A.D.

I Ch'uan Wen Chi, or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng I*

Eight books.
Compiled by Ch'eng Tuan-chung, 1112 A.D.
Edited by T'an Shan-hsin, 1323 A.D.

Appendix I

One book.
Compiled by T'an Shan-hsin, 1323 A.D.

Appendix II

One book.
Compiled by T'an Shan-hsin (?)

Five years after the death of Ch'eng I, his scattered writings were collected by his son Ch'eng Tuan-chung into a set of eight books which is known as *I Ch'uan Wen Chi*.[105] This was supposed to include all his writings except commentaries and expositions of the classics.[106] The writings of Ch'eng Hao were also gathered into a collection, although we do not know when or by whom. For a long time, both collections remained in a more or less fluid state, because new discoveries had to be added to them from time to time.[107] An early manuscript consisting of the two

[104]Also called Ho Nan Erh Ch'eng Hsien Sheng Wen Chi.

[105]ICWC, Preface.

[106]Regarding commentaries and expositions see Sects. 1.2.4 and 1.2.6.

[107]For instance, three years after the first publication of *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi* in 1166, Chang Shih received from Chu Hsi and forwarded for additional publication a collection of nine additional passages. As late as 1323 T'an Shan-hsin made a further collection which forms Appendix I of the present Wen Chi (see *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi*, Appendix II, p. 12b: Appendix I, Preface).

This explains why Sung Scholars made varied reports about the number of books contained in these collections. Thus both Ch'en Chen-sun (Sung Dynasty) and Ma Tuan-lin (fl. 13th century)

collections was found in the home of Hu An-kuo who was a devoted follower of the Ch'eng tradition and who had edited the texts and made certain alterations.[108] When Hu An-kuo's disciples Chang Shih and Liu Kung committed the manuscript to printing in 1166,[109] which was the first time the two collections had ever been published, Chu Hsi was greatly dissatisfied. He scoured some other manuscripts which he deemed good for comparison and entered into a bitter debate with Chang and Liu, insisting that the original texts be restored. Here, one catches another glimpse of Chu Hsi's passion for the preservation of texts. He urged repeatedly that the only thing that one may do without harm is to state one's own opinion in the footnotes, but as to the texts themselves not an iota is to be changed.[110] Unfortunately, some of his suggestions were rejected, though most minor corrections were adopted and nine items of his additional collection were accepted.[111] It was not till more than 150 years afterwards that T'an Shan-hsin published in 1323 a completely restored edition in accordance with Chu Hsi's ideas. He did this after a long correspondence with a fellow scholar Yü P'an and also through the help of an old manuscript which the latter had secured. Just as Chu Hsi had done with the *I Shu* he too prepared a very useful table of contents in which he noted down all that was found amiss or different in Hu An-kuo's texts. The edition impresses us as being on the whole satisfactory, although attention needs to be called to certain minor points which are treated in an appendix.[112]

Before leaving the *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi,* it seems necessary to mention another edition which appears in Chang Pai-hsing's *Cheng I T'ang Chüan hu.*[113] It consists of three books of Ch'eng Hao's writings and nine books of Ch'eng I's. It was printed in 1708 from an "original edition".[114] We have no idea what this "original

recorded a *Ming Tao Chi* of four books plus one book of additional collection, while the *Ming Tao Wen Chi* we now have contains five books. The combined edition of the two collections which they saw was reported to contain 12 books while the total number in the present book is 13 books plus appendices. Ch'en also recorded an *I Ch'uan Chi* of 9 books, one book more than the present edition, while Ma reported one of 20 books which included some of his other writings. See Ch'en Chen-sun, *Chih Chai Shu Lu Chieh T'I* (a Sung Bibliographical work). Imperial Wu Ying Tien edition, IX, 10a; Ma Tuan-lin, *Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao*, book 235.

[108]Hu An-kuo (1073–1138). For full account see *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi*, Contents; Appendix I, Preface; and Appendix II.

[109]Chang Shih (Nan-hsien, 1133–1180); Liu Kung (Kung-fu, 1122–1171). See Chang Shih's Postscript, ICWC, Appendix II, 12b: 9ff.

[110]See Chu Hsi's letters to Chang Shih and Liu Kung, which are seen in his literary collection *Chu Tsu Ta Ch'üan*, Bks. XXXVII, 12b–15b; XXX, 22a; 23a, b; 24b–29a. These are reprinted in *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi*, Appendix II. See particularly pp. 10a, 11b, 12a in the latter.

[111]Chang Shih in his reply to Chu Hsi (Chang Shih, *Complete Works*, or Sung Chang Hsüan Kung Ch'üan Chi, XXI, 1b–2b) said that he had made almost 200 corrections in the texts according to suggestions made by Chu Hsi. See also Footnote 107.

[112]See Appendix E, "Some Minor Points of Historical Criticism Concerning the *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi*".

[113]Chang Pai-hsing (1651–1725).

[114]This edition is evidently very late, at least later than 1323 A.D., for reasons given below.

edition" was. But an examination of the book reveals that it was an abridged edition produced after that of T'an Shan-hsin and with the knowledge of its contents.[115] As an edition, therefore, the book has no significance to us, except that it might serve the minor purpose of providing a comparison for text variants.

1.2.4 I Chuan,[116] *or* Commentary on the Book of Changes

By Ch'eng I, 1099
Collated and first printed by Lü Chu-ch'ien, 1169

To later scholars,[117] as to the author himself, the book *I Chuan* was Ch'eng I's most important writing. When answering enquiries about his plans for his writings, Ch'eng I emphasized that in regard to the *I Chuan* he must write it out himself, although expositions of some other classics might be edited from his lectures by his disciples.[118] In a letter to Chang Hung-chung at a later date, he explained that he had not formally circulated the *I Chuan* in its written form because he felt that his mental faculties had not yet declined and that he hoped to improve upon it. He said, however, that he would allow it to be circulated when he felt that he was really old.[119] In the year 1099, he wrote the preface to the book, which probably marked the completion of the first draft. Between then and his death in 1107, he did not do much towards the arrangement of the book, although it seems evident that he did add many further contributions to the manuscript. This is seen from the fact when Hsieh Liang-tso, one of his disciples, discovered the manuscript about 1111, four years after Ch'eng I's death, it was in a very bad shape. Yang Shih, another great disciple who examined the manuscript described it as being "disorderly, repetitious, and almost unreadable". He also told the story that Ch'eng I, lying on his death-bed, handed the manuscript to his disciple Chang I. But Chang I died soon afterwards,

[115]Evidence for this statement is seen from the fact that Bk. V of this edition conforms completely with T'an Shan-hsin's order of the articles which was quite different from Hu An-kuo's copy, and also from the fact that 12 out of 16 headings of T'an Shan-hsin's collections of writings of the Ch'eng brothers are present. But all the eleven items of sayings in the same collection are missing, and in all the other books apart from Bk. V, T'an Shan-hsin's order was not followed. However, a whole book of Ch'eng Hao's poems and a number of Ch'eng I's writings are omitted. The preface written by Ch'eng I's son, and all the postscripts in T'an Shan-hsin's edition also do not appear.

[116]The *I Chuan* is also variously called:

I Ch'uan I Chieh or *Exposition of the Book of Changes by the Master I Ch'uan*, as in Ch'en Chen-sun, op. cit., and *Ch'eng I Ch'uan I Chuan*, or *Commentary on the Book of Changes* by the Master Ch'eng I Ch'uan, as in Ch'ien Tseng, *Tu Shu Min Ch'iu Chi*.

The collator Lü Chu-ch'ien (Pai-kung, 1137–1181) is also known as Tung Lai Hsien Sheng.

[117]For example, Chu Hsi and Ch'en Chen-sun agreed in saying that the *I Chuan* represents Ch'eng I's most profound thoughts. See Ch'en Chen-sun, op. cit., I, 10b; Ch'ien Tseng, op. cit., IA, 2b.

[118]IS, XVIII, 43a: 7–8.

[119]*ICWC, V, 16a: 3.

and the manuscript was lost. After its discovery by Hsieh Liang-tso, Yang Shih spent more than a year collating it. In collating the work, as he has told us, he did away only with repetitions and put the writings in order. In places where there were seeming errors or obscure words, he did not fail to retain all the original in order to wait for those who might understand to interpret them.[120] After the collation of the book, however, Yang Shih did not circulate it, but kept it instead to himself, probably because of his humility. Meanwhile, he had learned that copies made from the original manuscript were circulating in the western part of China. He took the matter up with Hsieh Liang-tso and decided firstly that since Ch'eng I himself intended to let the book be brought to its completion by his disciples, the action in collating the book was justified. Secondly, that since copies made from the old manuscript were being used in the West, and since the present collation was meant for scholars in the South East, it was advisable to attach a note of explanation to the present book so that no doubt need be thrown on it when it was discovered different from the other book. This note of explanation was to be written by Hsieh Liang-tso, while the postscript which Yang Shih had already written and from which we learn part of the story was to be taken out. And thirdly, that the collated manuscript was to be kept from the public for some further length of time.[121]

This then is what we learn from Yang Shih. Chu Hsi, on the other hand, has informed us that during his illness Ch'eng I entrusted the manuscript of *I Chuan* to both Yin T'uan and Chang I.[122] This remark by Chu Hsi is one of great interest to us for reasons we shall soon see.

The first printed edition of the *I Chuan* seems to have appeared in 1169, 62 years after Ch'eng I's death. Lü Chu-ch'ien who wrote a postscript for this edition mentioned no previous printing, but said that the edition was based on two manuscripts. One of the manuscripts belonged originally to Yin T'un. It contained punctuation and notes done by Yin T'un himself. The other manuscript was Chu Hsi's collation which impressed him as being very carefully done. With the help of a couple of friends Lü Chu-ch'ien compared the two manuscripts with each other. Whenever variant readings were found between Yin T'un and Chu Hsi's texts, he retained both without omitting either. He also consulted specialists in semantics to make sure about a number of words before he committed the book to printing in an official press.[123]

Now, Yin T'un, who lived from 1071 to 1142, and who followed Ch'eng I for nearly twenty years,[124] was another of the great disciples. Since he was one of the

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[120]Yang Shih, "Postscript to the Collated MS of the Commentary on the *Book of Changes* by the Master of I Ch'uan", *Complete Works*, or *Kuei Shan Hsien Sheng Ch'üan Chi*, 1591 edition, XXV, 9ab.

[121]Yang Shih, "Letters to Yu Cha: No. 5", op. Cit., XIX, 3a.

[122]Chu Hsi, "Chronicles of the Master I Ch'uan" or "I Ch'uan Hsien Sheng Nien P'u". See IS, Appendix, 12a: 8.

[123]Lü Chu-ch'ien, "Postscript to the Collated Manuscript of the Commentary on the Book of Changes by the Master I Ch'uan", *Chin Hua Ts'ung Shu*, Tung Lai Chi, VI, 33a.

[124]*Sung Yüan Hsüeh An*, XXVII.

two who were entrusted with the manuscript of his master's most important writing, and since he lived 35 years after the master's death, it is almost certain that the manuscript he owned was at least an authentic copy if not the original manuscript itself. It is also possible that the manuscript, reported to be lost after Chang I's death, and the "book" found by Hsieh Liang-tso were only copies made from the original. Anyhow, we are completely satisfied that the first printed edition of Ch'eng I's *I Chuan* was based on the combined authorities of Yin T'un's manuscript, Chu Hsi's collation and Lü Chu-ch'ien's finishing touches.

Ten years after this, in the year 1179, Chu Hsi wrote a postscript to another printed edition, in which he made no complaint about the text which his friend Huang-fu Pin was so enthusiastically undertaking to reprint.[125] It seems, from the impression given us by this postscript, that the question of text was already a settled matter. It would also seem that this text was the same as that which was collated and printed by Lü Chu-ch'ien. Furthermore, it would not be far wrong for us to assume that Lü Chu-ch'ien's text was followed not only by the 1179 edition, but by all later editions, so far as Ch'eng I's commentary on the 64 hexagrams are concerned.[126]

From the above it will be seen that during the 62 years from the death of Ch'eng I to the time of the first printed edition, the book under consideration, namely *I Chuan*, was under the care of very competent hands, we have every reason to believe that we possess the best possible text to be had in which Ch'eng I's philosophical thoughts are well prepared.

With regard to the number of books in the *Commentary*, early scholars variously reported six and ten, while in the *Complete Works* editions it is four.[127] This however need not worry us, because the essential fact to remember is that Ch'eng I wrote a commentary on the 64 hexagrams only, and that these can be divided into any number of books one may like to have without making any difference to the contents. He did not write commentaries on the remaining parts of the *Book of Changes*. These have been added to certain editions of Ch'eng I's book, but they are not his writings, as scholars unanimously agree.[128]

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[125]Chu Hsi. *Chu Tzu Te Ch' üan*, LXXXI, 19b.

[126]It is useful to know that the *I Chuan* was early combined with Chu Hsi's *Chou I Pen I* into *Chou I Chuan I*, or *Chou I Ch'eng Chu Chuan I*. But this did not affect the textual integrity of Ch'eng I's *Commentary* in its other editions.

[127]Ch'en chen-sun, op. cit. (which was a Sung bibliography) and *Tung Tu Shih Lüeh* (which was a Sung history book) both reported 6 books, while Ma Tuan-lin, op. cit. (a Sung encyclopedia) and *Sung Shih: I Wen Chih* reported 10. Ch'ien Tseng, a Ch'ing scholar, in his *Tu Shu Min Ch'iu Chi* quoted above, expressed belief that 6 is probably right and 10 mistaken because a Sung edition that he himself owned had 6 books. The modern reprint of a 1349 edition which the writer uses also has 6; and this 1349 edition is itself thought to be the reprint of a Sung edition (see Postscript of the said edition).

[128]Ch'en Chen-sun, op. cit., I, 10b, 18a. Ch'ien Tseng, op. cit., IA, 2b–3b. *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu*, under "*Book of Changes* II": "Commentaries on the *Book of Changes*"; also under "Ching Tsung I": "*Ch'eng Shih Ching Shuo*, seven books".

1.2.5 Ch'eng Shih Ching Shuo, *or* Scriptural Expositions of the Master Ch'eng

Sung Dynasty (960–1279) Edition

Seven books.
Editor unknown

Ming Dynasty (1368–1661) Edition

Eight books.
Edited by Hsü Pi-ta (fl. 1592–1623)

Ch'eng I based all his teachings on the Confucian canon. The way he taught his disciples often took the form of scriptural explanation. Before his banishment in 1097, there was a rumour that he was going to publish his commentaries on the five canonical classics.[129] He denied it and said that he had planned only to write a commentary on the *Book of Changes* and that the disciples from Kuan Chung had agreed to compile Expositions of the other four from notes of his lectures.[130] According to this plan, Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu) was responsible for the Exposition of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Unfortunately, what Liu Hsüan produced did not satisfy Ch'eng I, which made him think that he would have to write it himself.[131] During his banishment in West China (December 1097–May 1100), he planned to carry out this idea after the completion of the *Commentary on the Book of Changes*, but was frustrated by the lack of books.[132] He was not able to begin on it until after his return in 1100, and was able only to cover a small portion of the book before his death in 1107. Thus, the *Book of Changes* and the *Ch'un Ch'iu* are the only two of the Canonical Classics on which Ch'eng I is definitely known to have written Commentaries. All the other expositions in this collection if authentic at all can at best be compilations of his oral explanations by his disciples. But this is to anticipate our general conclusion.

Before examining the respective books in the Collection, it is perhaps necessary to point out the alight difference in the contents of two different editions known to the Editors of the *Imperial Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu*. The first is a reprint of a Sung edition known to be so because the books it contains are identical with the description in the Sung bibliography compiled by Ch'en Chen-sun.[133] The other is a Ming edition adopted by Haü Pi-ta in his *Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng*.[134] Their differences can be seen in the following table:

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[129] *Book of Changes*, *Book of History*, *Book of Odes*, *Li Ki*, and *Ch'un Ch'iu* or *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

[130] IS, XVIII, 43a: 5ff.

[131] WS, XII, 10a: 6–8. 12b: 10–12; IS, XVII, 1b: 4–5.

[132] *ICWC, V, 14b: 5–8.

[133] Ch'en Chen-sun, op. cit., III, p. 25a.

[134] See "Ssu K'u T'i Yao" reprinted in front part of *Complete Works*, 3bf.

Contents of the collection	Sung Ed. No. of Bks.	Ming Ed. No. of Bks.
1. *Exposition of the Hsi Ts'u* or *Appendix III of the Book of Changes*	1	1
1. *Exposition of the Book of History*	1	1
2. *Exposition of the Book of Odes*	2	1
3. *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*	1	1
4. *Corrected Text of the Great Learning*	1	1
5. *Exposition of the Analects*	1	1
6. *Exposition of the Book of Mencius*	0	1
7. *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Mean*	0	1
Total	7	8

The main difference between the two editions lies in the fact that the Ming edition added two documents to the collection, namely the *Exposition of the Book of Mencius* and the Exposition of the *Doctrine of the Mean*. Both are doubtful, as we shall soon see below. The reduction of the *Exposition of the Book of Odes* from two books to one does not mean an abridgement. It merely means a difference in name —having compared the differences in the editions, we are now ready to examine the books one by one, according to the Ming scheme as we now have them in the *Complete Works*. Instead of following the order as found in the collection, however, I propose to group them under three headings:

1.2.5.1 Authentic Writings

This includes the following:

(1) *Ch'un Ch'iu Chuan*, or *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*. The authenticity of the book is evident from Ch'eng I's own preface written in 1103 and is also borne out by statements made by himself,[135] and sayings by his disciple Yin T'un.[136] Internal evidence also shows the genuineness of the material.[137] However, as has been said above, the book was unfinished and the comments he wrote covered only a small part of the *Annals*. After his death, some of his disciples picked up the work by compiling notes of his oral explanations and brought the book to completion. The place where Ch'eng I's written comments and his oral explanations begin is clearly indicated in the book.[138]

[135]*ICWC, V, 14b: 5–8; IS, XVII, 1b: 4–5.

[136]WS, XII, 10a: 6–8; 12b: 10–12.

[137]For example, (1) Regarding the remarriage of the nobility, *CS, IV, 2b: 13–3a: 2; 7b: 1–3; of. IS, XXIIB, 4b: 13–5a: 3. (2) Regarding sacrifice to the Duke of Chou, *CS, IV, 7b: 3–5, of. IS, XVIII, 39b: 10.

[138]*CS, IV, 16a: 11.

(2) *Corrected Text of the Great Learning*:
Both Ch'eng I and his brother Ch'eng Hao attempted a rearrangement of the ancient text of the *Great Learning* which appeared to them to be in obvious disorder. Both of the corrected texts are printed in Book V of the *Ching Shuo*. The authenticity of these texts is established by the evidence that Chu Hsi based his modified rearrangement on them and wrote plainly about it in the preface and text of his *Commentary on the Great Learning*.[139]

1.2.5.2 *Collections of Oral Teachings*: These Probably Belong to the Class that Ch'eng I Referred to as to Be Compiled by His Disciples from Notes of His Lectures

(1) *I Shuo: Hsi Tz'u* or *Exposition of the Hsi Tz'u* (*Appendix III of the Book of Changes*)
The *Hsi Tz'u* or Appendix III in Legge's translation, of the *Book of Changes,* has two sections of 12 chapters each. The *Exposition* under examination consists of 12 entries of explanatory notes for the 12 chapters of Section I.[140] There is nothing for Section II. That these notes were not written by Ch'eng I is apparent from the fact that they were not included in Ch'eng I's *Commentary on the Book of Changes* which is the logical place for them to be. It is further evidenced by the emphatic statements made by the Sung bibliographer Ch'en Chen-sun that Ch'eng I did not write on the *Hsi Tz'u*.[141] However, it is possible that they were compiled from notes of Ch'eng I's oral explanations and that Chu Hsi believed this to be so, because the latter in his *Chou I Pen I* or *Essential Meaning of the Book of Changes* did make one quotation from the *Exposition* and ascribed it to Ch'eng I.[142]

(2) *Shu Chieh* or *Exposition of the Book of History*
The *Shu Chieh* contains explanatory notes on the first two books of the *Book of History* which has a total of 50 books. External evidence shows that they were believed by Sung scholars to be Ch'eng I's sayings. (a) Ts'ai Ch'en (1167–1230), Chu Hsi's disciple, in his *Commentary on the Book of History*, quoted

[139]Chu Hsi, *Ta Hsüeh Chang Chü Chi Chu*, Preface, dated 1189; Text and Commentary Chap. V.

[140]One note for each chapter except chaps. IV and V which have a joint note while chap. IX has two notes. See CS, I, 1a–3b.

[141]Ch'en Chen-sun, op. cit., 10b; 18a.

[142]Chu Hsi, *Chou I Pen I*, "Hsi Tz'u", see I, Chap. IX, quoting from CS, I, 3a: 13.

twice from the book as if it were by Ch'eng I.[143] (b) Wang Ying-lin (1223–1296) quoted from the book in the same way.[144] (c) The *Sung Dynasty History* entered the book as by Ch'eng I.[145]

Besides the explanatory notes just mentioned, the *Shu Chieh* also includes a rearrangement of the text of the book *Wu Ch'eng* or the *Successful Completion of the War*, which is Book 3 in Part V of the *Book of History*. Ts'ai Ch'en in his *Commentary* presented a rearrangement of the same text which is quite similar to this. But the fact that Ts'ai Ch'en did not acknowledge his indebtedness to Ch'eng I makes us hesitate to affirm that it was actually done by the latter.

(3) *Shih Chieh* or *Exposition of the Book of Odes*
Of the 305 poems in the *Book of Odes*, 64 are explained. Quotations from this book were made by Chu Hsi in his Commentary on the Book of Odes,[146] and he ascribed them to Ch'eng I.

(4) *Lun Yü Chieh* or *Exposition of the Analects.*
There are 20 books in the *Analects*. The explanations cover the work from the beginning down to chapter three of Book IX. They are almost entirely incorporated by Chu Hsi in his *Commentary on the Analects* as saying of Ch'eng I.[147]

1.2.5.3 Unauthentic Works

(1) *Meng Tzu Chieh* or *Exposition of the Book of Mencius* (text not printed in the *Complete Works*)

This was rejected by K'ang Shao-taung, editor of the 1498 edition of the *Complete Works*, as quoted by the editors of the *Imperial Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu*.[148] An editor who holds this view gives the following reasons: (a) that it was not quoted in Chu Hsi's *Chin Ssu Lu*; (b) that it was not included in the early "Shih Text;" (c) that only one of the 14 books is included in the *Ta Ch'üan Chi*; (d) that the early "Ko Text" had only one chapter of it; and (e) that internal evidence shows that they were compiled from explanations already recorded in the *I Shu* and the *Wai Shu.*[149]

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[143]Part II, book I, quoting from CS, II, 8b: 6, and 9a: 2–5.

[144]Wang Ying-lin, *K'un Hsüeh Chi Wen*, IIA, 9b, quoting from CS, II, 6b: 2–3.

[145]*Sung Shih: I Wen Chih.*

[146]For example, From "Ti Tung", CS, III, 5b; "Tzu I", 8a; "Lang Pa", 16a; and "Ts'ai Wei", 19a, b.

[147]Chu Hsi, *Lun Yü Chang Chü Chi Chu*.

[148]See "Ssu K'u T'i Yao" reprinted in front part of *Complete Works* 4a: 2–3.

[149]CS, VII, la: 1–5. Could this note have been written by K'ang Shao-tsung?

(2) *Chung Yung Chieh*, or *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Mean*

Evidences of the inauthenticity of the book are: (a) That Ch'eng I did write a commentary on the *Doctrine of the Mean*, but being dissatisfied with it he had burnt it;[150] (b) When Yang Shih, one of Ch'eng I's great disciples, wrote his *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Mean* after the latter's death, he regretted that he had no document on which to base his dissertation except what he had heard from Ch'eng I when he studied under him.[151]

1.2.6 Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen *or* Choice Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng

Two books.
Editor and date unknown.

The *Sui Yen* forms a considerable part of the Complete Works. It is a collection of sayings ascribed to Ch'eng I, with occasional mention of Ch'eng Hao's words. In contrast to the *I Shu* and the *Wai Shu*, which were written in the vernacular, the *Sui Yen* was written in the classical style, each saying beginning with the phrase, "The Master said", as is found in the *Analects* of Confucius. At the beginning of the book, there is a preface dated 1168 A.D. by Chang Shih (Nan-hsien 1133–1180), a great Neo-Confucian philosopher who was a contemporary of Chu Hsi whom we have mentioned above. The Preface relates that the book was originally edited by Yang Shih (Kuei-shan 1053–1135) one of Ch'eng I's great disciples and was rearranged by Chang Shih. After a careful study of various pieces of evidence, internal and external, our impression is that the authenticity of this work is highly questionable. The reasons are as follows:

(1) That the name and the date attached to the Preface are later additions. The Preface[152] which ascribed the editorship of the book to Yang Shih was originally anonymous. In all current editions, it is dated 1166 by Chang Shih. But when the early Ming Scholar Sung Lien (1310–1381) saw it in the fourteenth century it was still without a name, except that he had heard that it was written by Chang Shih.[153] The name "Chang Shih" was therefore not attached to the Preface until after that date. It has been suggested that the name and date might have been added by someone who took the hint from Sung Lien's remark in his famous book.[154] Additional proof is seen from the fact that the Preface, if it

[150]IS, XVII, 1b: 5, 9; of. Chu Hsi, *Chu Tzu Ta Ch'üan*, LXXV, 29a: 4–6.
[151]Yang Shih, *Complete Works*, XXV, 8ab, "Preface to the *Chung Yung I*".
[152]SY, Preface.
[153]Sung Lien, *Chu Tzu Pien*, also entitled *Lung Men Tzu*, written in 1358, end of the book.
[154]*Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu*, book XCV, Ts'un Mu under "I Ch'uan Sui Yen".

were truly written by Chang Shih, would have appeared in his complete works, where it is absent.

(2) That the *I Ch'uan Sui Yen* which the editors of the *Imperial Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu* catalogued as of doubtful authenticity is identical with the *Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen* found in the *Complete Works*.[155] The said editors in their critical notes asserted that they had found two books, the one called *Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen* and the other *I Ch'uan Sui Yen*. The former they valued very highly and adopted into their collection of standard works. The latter they rejected and listed in the *Ts'un Mu* as of doubtful origin. But upon close examination we have found that the one they doubted was none other than the one they accepted. It is a most surprising blunder. Yet it is true. For the sole ground upon which they rejected the *I Ch'uan Sui Yen* was the remark by Sung Lien that the book had a preface which was anonymous and that he had heard that it was written by Chang Shih.[156] The editors concluded that since the preface was of doubtful origin, what the Preface said about the editorship of the book is also to be doubted, which sounds logical. But the book the preface of which Sung Lien was speaking about is the very book *Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen* now under consideration. Because according to Sung Lien's description, the book which then appeared under the name of *Ch'eng Tzu Sui Yen*[157] has an anonymous preface the contents of which can with certainty be identified with the Preface in our *Sui Yen*. Moreover, the titles of the ten books which Sung Lien gave are exactly identical with the titles we now have. It is therefore beyond any doubt that Sung Lien's *Sui Yen* is the *Sui Yen* we find in the *Complete Works* which the Editors of the *Imperial Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu* also rejected as of disputed origin.[158]

(3) That the book was not known to the editors of the literary remains of the Ch'eng Brothers in the Sung and Yüan Dynasties. The book could still be authentic even though the name and date attached to the anonymous preface is a forgery. But the strange thing is that early editors are generally silent about it. Yang Shih, the supposed author, died in 1135. But Chu Hsi, whose tireless efforts resulted in the collection, editing, and publication of the *I Shu* (1168) and *Wai Shu* (1173), did not hear of his book. Chang Shih, who was believed to have written the Preface, who had a hand in the first publication of Ch'eng I's

[155] *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu T'i Yao*, reprinted in the front pages of the *Complete* Works, 4a: 5–4b: 2. Also *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu*, loc. cit.

[156] Sung Lien, loc. cit.

[157] Also called *Tzu Ch'eng Tzu*, 10 bks. See Sung Lien, loc. cit.

[158] See "*Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu T'i Yao*", loc. cit., 4a: 13f; *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Ma,* loc. cit.– One obvious occasion for the blunder made by the editors of the *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu* is the fact that the book has at least four different titles, namely, *Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen*, *I Ch'uan Sui Yen*, *Ch'eng Tzu Sui Yen*, and *Tzu Ch'eng Tzu*. As the book contains sayings mainly of Ch'eng I, but also occasionally of Ch'eng Hao, it may be called by any one of the four names.

Collected Writings,[159] and who died in 1180, never mentions it.[160] On the other hand, in a postscript written for the Ch'ang Sha printed edition of the *I Shu*,[161] he praised the collection as excellent and "almost complete and exhaustive", which indicates that he had no knowledge of what could have been even more valuable and authoritative, namely the edition by Yang Shih, who was Ch'eng I's own disciple. T'an Shan-hsin, who edited the *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi* in 1323, and who in cooperation with his friend Yü P'an was earnestly searching for scattered literary remains of the Ch'eng brothers, did not know of the *Sui Yen* either.[162] All the editors of the first four main editions of the *Complete Works* did not include the *Sui Yen* in their collections.[163] If the document were genuine and were in existence from the days of Yang Shih, it would be almost unbelievable that it could have escaped the notice of all these competent editors.

(4) That it is true that Yang Shih did try to produce a classified edition of his Master's recorded sayings. But the *Sui Yen* does not seen to be the book he edited. In his letters to Yu Cha and Hu An-kuo and his "Words of Mourning" addressed to the former, one can follow with clarity the story of his efforts to produce the book. He had practically finished it when the manuscript was completely lost. Other manuscripts of Ch'eng I's sayings owned by various people were also known to have been lost through "fighting", "fires", "thieves" and "deaths". Yang Shih was then living through days of great national calamities, for two successive emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung were captured by the invading Hü Chen Tartars, the reigning Emperor Kao-tsung fled from the national capital Pien, which is modern Kaifeng, while the enemy pressed down south to and beyond the Yangtze.[164] The entire nation was in chaos and great suffering. Moreover, from his letters one may see that he was then very old, frail, lonely and depressed. In spite of all that, however, he thought it his duty to bring the book to completion. With renewed efforts, therefore, he launched out on a second collection. The last we hear of his is that he was in the process of classifying and collating the material, that the editing

[159]See Introduction Sect. 1.2.3, under *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi* above.

[160]Chang Shih, *Complete Works*, where 73 letters of his to Chu Hsi, and 25 selected passages from letters to the same are preserved. But there is no mention of his ever seeing such a book.

[161]Chang Shih, *Complete Works*, Bk. XXXIII, 6a.

[162]T'an Shan-hsin, Preface, ICWC, Appendix, laf; Chou Tz'u-ch'en and Yü P'an, Postscripts, ICWC, Appendix, 13a: 8–14b: 1. Yü P'an (ibid. 14a: 1, 4–7) mentioned a collection of *Miscellaneous Sayings of the Ch'engs* or *Ch'eng Shih Tsa Shuo*, 10 books, which he found in a Sung bibliography but which he said had been lost, and the contents of which he could only guess.

[163]See "Table Showing the Main Editions of the Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng", at the beginning of Introduction Sect. 1.2.

[164]Ch'en Pang-chan, *Sung Shih Chi Shih Pen Mo,* chs. 56–64.

was going to take some time and that he was expecting his old fellow disciple and friend Yu Cha to cooperate in a final editing. This friend's sudden death however had added to his already overwhelming sorrows.[165]

But the *Sui Yen* in the *Complete Works* does not fit in with Yang Shih's description of his own book. Because every time Yang Shih mentioned his book, he called it *Yü Lu* or recorded sayings in the vernacular, whereas the *Sui Yen* is "vernacular changed into classical style".[166]

On the strength of the four reasons given above, we conclude that the *Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen* is not authentic.[167]

A summary of the results of this critical study may be found in the six tables in Appendix A.

[165]Yang Shih, *Complete Works*, "Letter to Yu Cha, No. 6", XIX, 3b; "Letters to Hu An-kuo, Nos.9, 11, 12, 14", XX, 13a–16a; "Words of Mourning addressed to Yu Cha", XXVIII, 7ab.

[166]See Yang Shih, all the documents just quoted. Also SY, Preface, 1a: 2.

[167]A few valuable notes need to be added: (1) Internal evidence shows (a) that the *Sui Yen* derived its material not only from recorded sayings but also from writings (e.g. SY, I, 36a; II, 13b: 3ff; II 17b: 12ff); (b) that in taking material from the writings, the compiler did not always prove himself a careful scholar. For instance, of 137 words taken from Ch'eng I's letter to Yang Shih, 9 words were left out while 12 others were altered (SY, I, 23b, of. *ICWC. V, 12b.); and (c) That the *Sui Yen* looks like, but is not the same as, the text described by Chu Hsi as the "Hu Text" (see W3, Contents under Bk. VII). The reason is that from the "Hu Text" Chu Hsi was able only to pick out four items, which indicates that it was a small document, while the *Sui Yen* is a big one. Moreover, of the four items quoted by Chu Hsi, only 2 can be found in the *Sui Yen*, and the words do not entirely agree (SY, II, 10a: 12, of. WS VII, 4b: 5–6, X, la: 9; SY, II, 21a: 4–5, of. WS, VII, 4b: 3–4).

(2) There is a book called *Erh Ch'eng Hsien Sheng Sui Yen*, edited by Hsü Yang-cheng in the Ming Dynasty. Whether that could have anything to do with the present problem the author cannot tell, because writing in America, he is unable to refer to the book.

(3) There is another book called *Ch'eng Shih Tsa Shuo* or *Miscellaneous Sayings of the Ch'engs*, 10 bks., which we have noted above (Footnote 162), that might throw some light on the problem. But unfortunately, it was reported to have gone out of existence as early as the Yuan Dynasty.

Chapter 2
Some Basic Categories of Ch'eng I's Thought: Heaven–Tao–Li

It must be made clear at the outset that Ch'eng I was essentially an ethical teacher whose ultimate concern was the achievement of perfect manhood rather than the construction of a theoretical system, and that it is in the broadest sense of the term that we call his thought a "philosophy". Although he was forced by circumstances to deal with metaphysical and cosmological questions, he never had any intention of working out a complete philosophical system or to develop a consistent logical treatment of any one of its parts. The study in which we are now engaged is from a point of view very different from his, and the division and classification adopted for the handling of the material are entirely arbitrary. Moreover, since he was not consciously engaging himself in any systematic thinking, doing nothing comparable to Aristotle's Physics and Metaphysics, Ethics and Politics, there is no watertight division between the various compartments of his thought. Consequently, statements selected from his Works are not always clear-cut nor can one conveniently sort them out under logically arranged headings. Sayings that deal with a metaphysical problem will be found to have a cosmological content. Remarks that are cosmological in nature will also have important ethical bearing, and so on. The result is that in trying to arrange the material from a systematic point of view one is often faced with the difficulty of having to allocate a saying or even a whole block of sayings which logically can belong to several places at the same time.

Bearing this in mind, we shall now proceed to deal with some basic categories which underlie Ch'eng I's thought and which will throw light on Ch'eng I's idea of the essential nature of the universe. According to Ch'eng I, the universe is one great organic, rational and moral order. Behind the phenomenal world of matter, there is

Distinction is made in this book between "Heaven and Earth" and "the heaven and the earth". The former is used in the metaphysical sense, while the latter in the physical sense. It is customary in English to speak of the physical heaven in the plural. But in traditional Chinese thought, heaven is not thought of as more than one. Hence we have used the singular number, sacrificing style for the sake of accuracy.

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the invisible world of laws and principles. But they are equally part of the one reality and are organic to it and to each other. The invisible works through the visible. The visible gives expression to the invisible. They are organically one.

"The super-physical (lit. that which is above form) is the Tao or Great Way of Heaven and Earth. The physical (lit. that which is below form, i.e., that which is manifested in form) is the function of yin and Yang."—*IC, I, 9a: 7. (YK, Appendix I, Hex, 2:4).

The invisible realm is variously called Heaven, the Tao or the Great Way and Li or natural law, according to the aspect of its character or function referred to.

2.1 Heaven

Heaven is essentially the Tao, said Ch'eng I. But it is also the heaven, or the Supreme Ruler, or spiritual beings, or divinity, or power as manifested in the unceasing operations of the astronomical order.

"The hexagram Ch'ien is formed by doubling the trigram ch'ien. Ch'ien means heaven. 'Heaven' stands for the physical form of Heaven. Ch'ien stands for the nature of Heaven. Ch'ien means strength. To be strong and to go on without ceasing is the meaning of Ch'ien.

"Heaven, when spoken of as a whole, is equivalent to the Tao or the Great Way.[1]… But when it is spoken of with reference to its different aspects, then in regard to its physical form it is also called the heaven; in regard to its controlling power it is called the [Supreme] Ruler; in regard to its function it is called spiritual beings; in regard to its mysterious manifestations it is described as divine; and in regard to its nature, it is called ch'ien. This 'ch'ien' [brought about] the beginning of all things, hence it is the symbol of Heaven, the yang principle, fatherhood, and kingship." —*IC, I, la: 6–9. (YK, Hex. 1).

"The expression that 'the great man is he who is in harmony [in his attributes], with Heaven and Earth; [in his brightness, with] the sun and moon; [in his orderliness, with] the four seasons; and [in his relation to what is fortunate and what is calamitous, with] the spiritual beings'—the expression, I say, means that he is in harmony with the Tao or the Great Way. Heaven and Earth is the Tao. Spiritual beings are marks indicating the creative process of nature.

"[According to the Text], the sage may not 'preceding Heaven' and Heaven will agree with him; he may not after Heaven but he will obey Heaven. The reason why he is able to do so is because he is in harmony with the Tao. When one is in harmony with the Tao, how can man and spiritual beings act in opposition to him?"—*IC, I, 7b: 13–8a: 2. (YK, Appendix IV, I, VI, 34).

[1]The remark: "as it is written: 'Heaven will not act in opposition to him'" (YK, Appendix IV, I, VI, 34) is purposely omitted for clarity. The full passage from which the quotation was made is seen in the following paragraphs.

In another connection Ch'eng I seemed to indicate that Heaven, spoken of as the whole of the invisible realm, is greater than the Supreme Ruler. It is to be noticed that Ch'eng I spoke of the Supreme Ruler only in connection with ancient or popular beliefs. He himself does not seem to believe in a personal God philosophically.

"All things have their origin (lit. root) in Heaven. Men have their origin in their first ancestors. Therefore in sacrificing to Heaven [the tablet of] the first ancestor of the royal family is placed side by side with that of Heaven to keep Heaven company, as it were, in receiving the sacrifice…

"[King Wu] installed [the tablet of his father] King Wen in the hall of worship to keep the Supreme Ruler company. The Supreme Ruler is Heaven. The totality of divinity is called the Supreme Ruler.[2]…

"To accompany the Supreme Ruler [the tablet of the king's] father must be placed….

"The father is the agent through whom one was brought to life. The Supreme Ruler is the agent (lit. ancestor) through whom all things were generated. Therefor the former is considered adequate for accompaniment."—*ICWC, Appendix 2a: 6–9, 13; 2b: 4–5.

Here, distinctions are made between the relative ranks of Heaven and the Supreme Ruler. Heaven is the origin of all things. It is accompanied by the first ancestor of the king. The Supreme Ruler is the agent of creation. He is accompanied by the king's father.

The Tao of Heaven is ch'eng: the term ch'eng means being true to one's own nature. It was first used in this sense by Author B of the *Doctrine of the Mean.*[3] The latter spoke of the ch'eng of Heaven and Earth, by which he meant the unceasing creativity as manifested in the cosmo-ethical order. He spoke also of the ch'eng of the sage, by which he meant his absolute faithfulness to his Heaven-ordained inner nature. In both cases, the element of long continuity was stressed. In a similar way, the writer of Appendix I of the *Book of Changes* observed with much emphasis the long-continuing quality of Heaven and Earth, although he did not call this quality by any special name.[4] This line of thought was followed up by later Confucianists with much interest, especially by the Neo-Confucianists. The following quotations will indicate Ch'eng I's indebtedness to this line of tradition in regard to the idea of Heaven. The cosmological and ethical implications of the concept of ch'eng will be taken up in chapters below.[5]

Commenting on the hexagram Wu Wang, which comes after Fu, he wrote:

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[2]The expression is ambiguous. It can be rendered "the sum total of the heavenly divinities is called the Supreme Ruler". In that case, the Supreme Ruler will have a plurality of constituency. See Glossary, "totality etc.".

[3]*Doctrine of the Mean*, see esp. Chap. 26.

[4]YK, Appendix I, Hex. 32.

[5]Chaps. 3.4 and 6.1.5.

"Fu means a return to the Tao. Having returned to the Tao, it is in accord with truth and is therefore Wu Wang, (which to Ch'eng I means not contrary to moral truth)…. As a hexagram, it has ch'ien above and chen below. [Ch'ien means Heaven.] Chen means to cause to move. When motion is caused by Heaven, it is Wu Wang, or not contrary to moral truth. But when motion is caused by human desires, then it is Wang, or contrary to moral truth.

"Wu Wang entails absolute ch'eng. Absolute ch'eng is the Tao of Heaven. The way in which Heaven creates and nourishes all things which produce and reproduce without ceasing, each acting in accordance with its natural endowment and destiny —this is Wu Wang. When a man is able to live in accordance with this principle of Wu Wang, he may be described as one whose outstanding virtue is in accord with the virtue of Heaven and Earth."—*IC, II, 35a: 9–11, 13. (YK, Hex. 25).

"The reason why the heaven[6] and the earth are able to go on operating without ceasing is, it seems to me, that they have the Tao of continuing long. If a man is able to continue in the way which is continuable in, then he is in accord with the Li of Heaven and Earth.[7]

"Among the Li in this world of our experience there is not one which entails not moving and yet continuing. If there is movement, then there is an end and a return to the beginning. That is how anything continues long without coming to a complete end. Everything brought into existence by Heaven and Earth, notwithstanding the solidity of the mountain ranges, has not the quality of not changing. Therefore, to continue does not mean to be fixed. To be fixed is to be unable to continue. To change in due time: only this is the constant law or Tao….

"The sun and the moon are but the more subtle form of energy in the yin and yang. They obey the Tao of heaven going back and forth, waxing and waning, therefore they can continue to shine without ceasing…. The four seasons are but the ordinary energy in the yin and yang. They come and go, change and vary, and bring forth the myriad creatures and things. It is also because they obey the Li of heaven that they are able to continue long without ceasing. The sage practices the Tao of continuance, which he does with regularity, with the result that the world is educated through it and admirable customs are formed."—*IC, III, 6a, 2, 4–6, 9–11. (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 32: 2–4).

The Tao of Heaven and Earth is great and upright.

"That which is upright and great is the Tao. Probe to the depths of the truth (Li) of uprightness and greatness, and the character and tendencies of Heaven and Earth can be seen. The Tao of Heaven and Earth, which is long-continuing without ceasing, is great and upright to the highest degree."—*IC, III, 11b:8–11. (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 34:2).

The Tao manifested in Earth is straight, square and great. The earth is straight because it was conceived to be flat. Straightness symbolizes the moral quality of

[6]See note in chapter opening page.

[7]The Li and Tao here are exact synonyms.

being upright. The earth was also conceived to be square and great. These latter characters symbolize moral squareness and greatness.

[Hexagram K'un, symbolizing Earth. Text:] "The second line, divided, [shows the attribute of] being straight, square, and great. [Its operations], without repeated efforts, will be in every respect advantageous."

[Comment:] "…. To describe the character and function of K'un by the three attributes of being straight, square and great is to cover all the truth about Earth. Earth being straight, square and great, therefore [its operations] will be in every respect advantageous without repeated efforts. The expression 'without repeated efforts' means naturalness, which in the case of Earth means to accomplish without trying to accomplish, while in the case of the sage it means to live in accordance with the Great Way naturally and easily. The expression 'being straight, square and great' is equivalent to what Mencius described as 'being exceedingly great, exceedingly strong, and straight'. Here the description is applied to the Earth, therefore the word 'square' is used instead of 'strong'.[8]"—*IC, I, 9b: 10–10a: 1. (YK, Hex. 2:2).

The mind of Heaven and Earth is revealed in movement rather than in stillness. Here is a metaphysical basis for the Confucian positive attitude of life in contrast to the question of Buddhism. If the mind of Heaven and Earth is active, then it is man's duty to go into the world rather than to try to get out of the world.

[Fu], "As a hexagram, in which one undivided line (yang) comes into existence under five divided lines (yin), it represents the fact that when yin has reached its limit yang returns. In the tenth moon of the lunar yearly cycle, the increase of yin reaches its extreme limit. But at the winter solstice (which falls in the following moon), one yang phase (namely, an undivided line) comes again into existence in the earth (or K'un). That is why this hexagram is called Fu, which means a return….

"The return of one undivided line, or yang, at the bottom of the hexagram symbolizes the mind of Heaven and Earth in the generation of creatures and things. Former Confucian scholars all held that in stillness is revealed the mind which is in Heaven and Earth. This, I am afraid, is because they did not know that the initiation of motion does reveal the mind of Heaven and Earth. Who but he who knows Tao can realize this?"—*IC, II, 32a, 4–5; 33a, 7–9. (YK, Hex. 24; Appendix I, Hex. 24).

2.2 The Tao

The Tao means the Great Way. It represents the moral aspect of the universe and the path on which man ought to walk. Here in a recorded saying, Ch'eng I described the Tao-in-itself as containing all the laws or Li.

[8] *Mencius*, II, I, II, 13. See Glossary "exceedingly great".

"The expression 'It is still and without movement; but when acted on, it penetrates forthwith….'[9] refers to what is already on a lower plane, namely, the human one. But with regard to the Tao, it is in itself complete with all the laws (Li) of things. In this case, it is no more [adequate] to speak of its being acted on or not being acted on."—# IS, IV, 13b:8 (1080 A.D.).

The Tao is like a flowing stream, powerful, steady, ever-continuing, always moving, yet constantly there.

[It is written in the *Analects*[10]:] "The Master standing by a stream said, 'It passes on just like this, [not ceasing day or night!]'"—[The Master Ch'eng said], "He was referring to the substance (t'i) of the Tao.[11] Here [it is hard for words to explain], one should realize it for himself."

The disciple Chang I said, "It means everlastingness and inexhaustibility?"

He said, "It is true that the Tao is everlasting and inexhaustible. Yet how can the terms 'everlastingness' and 'inexhaustibility' exhaust its nature?"—IS, XIX, 3b: 5–6.

Though the Tao belongs to the superphysical realm, yet it does not exist apart from the physical. It works through the physical and is the "Prime Mover" of the latter.

"Apart from yin and yang there is no Tao.[12] That by which yin and yang [are set to work] is Tao. Yin and yang are energies. Energies belong to the physical realm. Tao belongs to the superphysical realm. The superphysical realm is what the sage finds in the secrecy of his consciousness."[13]—#IS, IV, 14b: 13f (1080 A.D.).

The Tao is the one order of things, the one system of laws, the one intrinsic rationale of the universe. The same Tao constitutes the superphysical aspect of the heaven, the earth and man. Therefore, no distinction can be made between the Tao of Heaven and the Tao manifested in anything else. They are all one and the same underlying principle. To understand the Tao manifested in one phase of the universe is to understand the Tao manifested in any other phase. Incidentally, it is interesting to note in the following quotation that although the Tao includes both physical and ethical laws, what really matters from Ch'eng I's point of view is the ethical. For what harm does it do, said he, if a scholar does not know astronomy and geography?

Someone asked: "It has been said, to fulfill the Tao or the Great Way of man is called true manhood; to fulfill the Tao of Heaven is called sagehood: What do you think of this?"

He said, "Grammatically it is correct. But the idea is not right. How can one know the Tao of man without knowing the Tao of Heaven? Tao is one. Can the Tao of man and the Tao of Heaven be separate entities? In the *Doctrine of the Mean* it is

[9]YK, Appendix III, I, 62.

[10]*Analects*, IX, XVI.

[11]Note in the Text: "A variant reads, the on-going of the Tao."

[12]Cf. #IS, XV, 13b, 4–7.

[13]YK, Appendix III, Sect. I. 67.

said, when one has fulfilled his own nature, he will be able to fulfill the nature of others. Able to fulfill the nature of others, he will be able to fulfill the nature of animals and things. Able to fulfill the nature of animals and things, he will be worthy to assist in the continual creative process of Heaven and Earth. From this you can understand what I mean. The philosopher Yang said, he who has a comprehensive understanding of Heaven, Earth and man is called a scholar; he who has a comprehensive understanding of Heaven and Earth without the understanding of man is called a clever man: this indicates that he too did not understand what Tao means. For how can there be a person who has a comprehensive understanding of Heaven and Earth without also an understanding of man? If by the comprehensive understanding of Heaven and Earth he meant an understanding of astronomy and geography, then, what harm would it do to a scholar if he were not versed in them? No, underlying Heaven, Earth and man there is only one Tao. When one phase is comprehended, all the other phases are comprehended. Some later scholars explaining the *Book of Changes* said, ch'ien is the Tao of Heaven; K'un is the Tao of Earth. That is nonsense. In regard to the embodiments [of reality] we say that the heaven is superior while the earth is inferior. But in regard to the Tao itself, how can there be any difference [between the Tao of Heaven and that of Earth]?"—IS, XVIII, la: 13–1b:7.

Again it was asked, "What do you think of Wang An-shih's remark that the Emperor Yao followed the Tao (or Great Way) of Heaven in order to rule men, while the Emperor Shun followed the Tao of man in order to serve Heaven?"

He said, "Wang An-shih himself does not understand the meaning of the term 'Tao'. There is no distinction between the Tao of Heaven and the Tao of man. When it is used in connection with Heaven it is called the Tao of Heaven; when it is used in connection with Earth, it is called the Tao of Earth; and when it is used in connection with Earth, it is called the Tao of Earth; and when it is used in connection with man it is called the Tao of man."—IS, XXII A, 4a: 10–11.

Ch'eng I calls the Tao the "Great Middle Way". It is the one sure way to perfect manhood and to an ideal social order. It is the golden mean where the worthy person must refrain from overshooting the mark, while the unworthy must endeavour to reach the requisite level. It is the way on which everyone should walk, and which will never perish.

"…. I, your humble subject, beg to state first the nature of teaching that I have learned, then proceed to discuss the affairs of the empire in the light of this teaching. The teaching that I have learned is the Great Middle Way [which prevails] in the universe. The sages had it by nature[14] and thus lived as sages. The worthies followed it and thus become worthies. Yao and Shun[15] applied it to their lives and thus became 'Yao' and 'Shun'. Confucius taught it as it had originally been handed down by the ancients, and thus he was enabled to be 'Confucius'. As the Tao it is

[14] *Mencius*, XII, I, XXX.

[15] Traditional sage-emperors.

most great. To follow it is most easy. From the Three Dynasties[16] upwards, it was followed by all. Since Ch'in[17] it has declined. Regimes like those of Wei and Chin[18] were far removed from it. Han and T'ang,[19] which may be called dynasties of lesser prosperity [as compared with the Three Dynasties], followed it but not in a genuine way. Many there were since of old who have tried to learn about it. However, upon examination, I am afraid that those who have really obtained it are few…."—Letter to Emperor Jen-tsung" dated 1050 when Ch'eng I was 18.—ICWC, I, 14a:9–13.

The question was raised: "When Tseng Ts'an mourned his parents, he neither ate nor drank for seven days, why was he not in accord with the ritual code?"—He said, "People like Tseng Ts'an went too far in observing the rules. In order to follow the Great Middle Way practiced by the sages, the worthy man must refrain from overshooting the mark, while the unworthy person must endeavor to reach the requisite level. The fault of Tseng Ts'an lay in his overdoing in observing the rules. In the case of ordinary people, they must conform to customary institutions, whereas in the case of men of great virtues, they can decide according to circumstances, but must not be fettered by the regulations of the ritual code."—IS, XVIII, 22b:2–4.

"It is impossible in reason for the yang principle to come to an end. When it changes [and disappears] at the top [of the hexagram], it is born at the bottom. For there can be no internal of time for it to cease [from being active]. The sage expounded this law in order to show that the principle of yang and the Way of the moral man cannot perish."—*IC, II, 31a: 12. (YK, Hex. 23: 6)

2.3 Li

The word Li is one of the most difficult Chinese words to translate. Originally it means the grain in a piece of jade. As a verb, it means to carve the jade artistically by following its grain. It is then extended to mean the management of an affair in the same manner. In these connotations, the suggestion is already present that in every physical object and human affair there is an intrinsic pattern which should be followed rather than opposed. This led to the use of the term for an underlying principle, a law inherent in things or history. Ethically it comes very near to the term "natural law" in Western thought, although the word "law" with its Roman legal background is not so congenial to the Chinese spirit. Chinese thinkers would prefer not to think of Li as some prescription from a legal code, be it of supernatural

[16]Hsia, 2205–1784 B.C., Shang, 1783–1123 B.C. and Chou, 1122–222 B.C., held by Confucianists as the Golden Age. The dates for all but the end of Chou are not assured.

[17]Ch'in Dynasty, 221–207 B.C.

[18]Wei, 220–265 A.D. Chin, 265–420 A.D.

[19]Han, 206 B.C.–220 A.D. T'ang, 618 A.D.–907 A.D.

origin or not, but rather as a basic moral principle founded upon reason. To him Li is essentially rational, although it is not something which depends for its origin on the human reason. Therefore, in spite of the Chinese rationalistic emphasis, the rendering "reason" which has been made by a number of scholars is not entirely satisfactory. Philosophically Li means the order, the rationale, the basic principle or the reason, which lies behind all things natural, supernatural and ethical, holds them together into one complete whole and gives them their intelligible characters.

When Ch'eng Hao, the elder brother of our philosopher, asserted that the philosophical concept of T'ien Li or Heavenly Law was his special contribution[20] to the world of thought he probably meant that although it was an ancient term with a long history behind it, and although all the pioneers of Neo-Confucianism discussed it, it was he who first made it a leading category in the new trend of thought. If Ch'eng Hao has the credit of firmly establishing the place of the idea of Li in Neo-Confucian thought, Ch'eng I was equally meritorious in bringing it to a full development. Through the influence of the two brothers, Li became a main feature in Neo-Confucianism, and as a consequence, the teaching of the Sung scholars has since been called the "Hsing Li School" or the School of Natural Law and Human Nature.

In Ch'eng I's writings and sayings, just as the term Tao is often used interchangeably with "Heaven" while it is not identical with "Heaven", so the term Li is often used interchangeably with "Tao", but it is not identical with Tao. Tao has the particular connotation of the way, whereas Li has that of the rational foundation of a thing. As a concept, it is rarely treated as an abstract entity, but is often used in connection with things or events. The remarks that Ch'eng I made about Li[21] may be gathered under the following headlines:

2.3.1 The Characteristics of Li

2.3.1.1 Li Is Independent of Time and Space

It was thought of as being invisible, complete with all the laws of all things, and indescribable in terms of time. In the following, there is one of those very rare statements which deals with Li as an abstract entity and which describes it in all these terms.

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[20]IIS, XII, 4a: 9.

[21]Chou Tun-i wrote about the "Supreme Ultimate" (T'si Chi) and the "Ultimateless" (Wu Chi) (see Sect. 1.1.2 in Introduction). Chu Hsi associated Li with the Supreme Ultimate, but in all the writings and authentic recorded sayings of Ch'eng I, the terms Supreme Ultimate and Ultimateless are never mentioned. They do appear in an unsigned "Preface to the Book of Changes" ("*Yi Hsü*") which in current editions is attached to the *I Chuan* and which T'an Shan-hsin (in ICWC, Appendix, Contents la: 8) ascribed to Ch'eng I. But the terminology and phraseology in the preface sound so unlike those of Ch'eng I that it is extremely doubtful if it can have been written by him at all.

"Li has no physical appearance."—*ICWC, V, 16a: 8.

"[Li-in-itself is] void and pure, and without any sign of the beginning of anything physical. Yet it is already complete with all things. Before it is applied [in anything concrete] it is not [therefore something] anterior; after its application, it is not [therefore something] posterior. It is like a hundred-foot high tree, which from the roots up to the branches and leaves forms one organic whole. One must not say that what is stated above is too abstract, and that Li needs human arrangement, to direct it, as it were, on to some track. If there is any track, there can only be one track."—#IS, XV, 8a: 10–12. (A.D. 1080).

It is interesting to note that the document *I Shu* XV from which we have drawn this saying is one of unusual qualities. It was written five years before the death of Ch'eng I's brother, and therefore from the scientific point of view, we have to guard against a confusion with his brother's sayings. But some of the remarks found there reveal extraordinary insights into the mind of the Master not often found in the other documents. This document we evaluated as Class B, which means that it belongs to the most reliable group of recorded sayings: Class A being the Master's own writings. Yet upon close examination it is found to be of composite authorship, being the notes of several disciples taken down from the same lectures and edited into a single manuscript. These disciples are said to have been from Kuan Chung and might have had training under Chang Tsai. Some of them must have had extraordinarily mature minds which enabled them, during one of those rare moments when Ch'eng I was willing to depart from his normal practical pursuit and indulge in metaphysical speculations, to catch hold of the remarks and write them down. (For further critical information about the document, see Introduction Sect. 1.2, Footnote 36).

Now, to come back to the discussion about Li. We have said that Ch'eng I believed that Li is independent of human reason. Since it does not depend for its existence on the human mind, it cannot be held to form a hindrance to human understanding because man sometimes holds incorrect views about it, as the Buddhists do. If man did that and a hindrance was thus produced, the responsibility must lie with men and not with Li. Moreover, since Li constitutes the very core of man's nature,[22] to understand it is to understand oneself. How can it become a hindrance? If Li is ever to become a hindrance, it will mean that Li and man are not fundamentally related. Thus:

2.3.1.2 Li Is Independent of Human Reason

Asked about the Buddhist theory of the stumbling block caused by incorrect views of truth, he said: "There is such a theory. It means that when one understands a Li he proceeds to hug it to himself, and that is why it is a stumbling block. But this is to misunderstand the word "Li". In the world of our experience there is only one Li.

[22]See Sect. 2.3.2.2.

When this Li is understood, how can it become a stumbling block? If Li is taken to be a stumbling block, it means that the inner self and Li are considered as two separate entities."—IS, XVIII, 11a: 4–6.

2.3.1.3 Li Is One and Universal

Although there is a Li in every individual thing which makes Li to appear plural, yet it is the same fundamental Li which runs through every realm of existence, and provides the rational basis for everything, physical, psychological, social, ethical and metaphysical.

Under this heading, special attention is called to an important document which is a letter written by Ch'eng I in defence of Chang Tsai's "Western Inscription". The significance of it is that it succeeded better perhaps than Chang Tsai himself could have done, in putting a Confucian stamp on that great treatise, and made it part of the orthodox literature for contemporary and later Confucianists. The secret of Ch'eng I's success in this was the invention of the phrase "Li is one but there are diversities of duties".

All things in the world can be understood in the light of Li or law. Where there is a thing there is bound to be a law.[23] Everything must have a law."—IS, XVIII, 9a: 4.

"The mind of any one man is the mind of Heaven and Earth. The Li of any one creature or thing is the Li of all creatures and things."—#IS, II A, la: 5 (A.D. 1079).

"The purpose of all the people in the world differ in ten thousand ways, but Li is one. The man of virtue comprehends Li, therefore he is able to understand thoroughly the purposes of all men. The reason why the sage is able to view the minds of a million people as if they were one single mind is simply that he comprehends Li."— *IC, I, 48a: 5–6.

"To recognize obvious likenesses is the mentality of the ordinary man. The sage, however, understands that the intrinsic Li of all creatures and things is basically one and the same. That is why he is able to unify the world and harmonize the different species. Take the heaven and the earth, man and woman, and all living things for illustration: The heaven is above, and the earth is below, and the two bodies are distant from each other. But when it is realized that the yang principle comes down and the yin principle rises up, the two coming together to accomplish the work of transformation and generation, then it becomes clear that they are fundamentally alike. Man and woman are constitutionally different. But the psychology of longing for each other is one. Living things differ in ten thousand ways, but in partaking of the harmony of the heaven and the earth, and in being endowed with the energy of yin and yang, they are of the same genus. [It is clear then] that although things differ, the Li in them is basically one. Therefore in spite of the great size of the world and the great number of living creatures, in spite of their being so unrelated

[23] *Shih King*, 'Major Odes', Decade iii, Ode 6, p. 425.

and different in ten thousand ways, the sage nevertheless is able to see a unity in them."—*IC, III, 25a: 4–9.

"In the Great Way of the sages no distinction is made between what is coarse and what is subtle. From the elementary lessons of sweeping the floor and polite manners of conversation to the fine investigation into the realm of the mysterious, there is only one Li which runs through all. [In the entire process of cultivation] even in things like sweeping the floor and being polite in conversation what one really ought to learn is the reason or basic principle of things."—#IS, XV, 8a: 5–6.

"Letter in reply to Yang Shih discussing Hsi Ming"[24]:

"The opinions expressed in the ten historical treatises which you previously sent me are quite correct. Unfortunately, the manuscripts were borrowed before I could do more than glance at them. I shall need to read them again more carefully. Your opinions about the "Hsi Ming", however, are not true. Where Heng ch'ü (Chang Tsai) actually goes wrong in his statements is in the book Zheng Meng. But in the "Hsi Ming" he both expounds Li and retains right comment, expounding on something that previous sages had not expressed. In this way, his contribution is equal in merit to *Mencius*'s doctrine of the goodness of human nature and the doctrine of the nourishment of the spirit. How can it be compared with Mo Ti? The "Hsi Ming" shows that Li is one while duties vary; but Mo Ti's teaching is based on plurality without individual distinction. The logical fault in making distinctions of duties lies in selfishness being conqueror and so losing Jen. The sin in not distinguishing lies in love becoming indiscriminate and so the disappearance of right conduct.[25] By establishing the distinction of duties and by expounding the oneness of Li, you check the fault of allowing selfishness to become dominant: this is the method of Jen. By omitting the distinction of duties and by promoting an all embracing love, even to the extreme point of owning no farther, this is to do violent injury to the right and proper. No, you are wrong in comparing them and calling them alike. Furthermore, you criticized the treatise as speaking of substance alone to the exclusion of function.[26] But the intention of the treatise is to enable people to derive principles of action from it. This is precisely practical in purpose. And yet you said that it does not include application: I am surprised."—*ICWC, V, 12b: 1–7.

2.3.1.4 Li Is Unchangeable

[Definition of "Chung yung"][27]: "'Chung' means not lopsided. When a thing is lopsided, it is not chung. 'Yung' means invariable. That is to say, 'chung' means

[24]A short philosophical masterpiece written by Chang Tsai see "The Western Inscription", in P.C. Hsü, *Ethical Realism in Neo-Confucian Thought*. Appendix pp. XI–XII.

[25]Right conduct here means doing the right thing to the right person according to graded love.

[26]Substance here refers to the concept of Jen, or benevolence, as the essential character of Heaven and Earth. Function refers to the application of the principle of Jen, which to Ch'eng I means to render to every person his due.

[27]The doctrine of the golden mean as is found in the *Book of Chung Yung* or *Doctrine of the Mean*.

the Great Mean, and 'yung' means the fixed law (lit. Li). The fixed law is the unchanging Li in the world of our experience. This means that which is constant. When Mencius speaks only of coming back to that which is constant,[28] chung, or the idea of the mean, is implied."—#IS, XV, 13b: 12–13.

2.3.1.5 Li Is Order

It is the one basic principle which holds the universe together and makes it an organic and consistent whole. The following is a treatise which explains the Confucian philosophy of "Propriety" which logically ought to belong to the chapter on ethics. But owing to the fact that its incidental references to the essential order of the universe throw a great deal of light on the present connection, we have transposed it to the present context.

"Preface to the *Li Ki*":

(1) "All the three hundred rules of propriety and the three thousand rules of demeanor are derived from human nature. They do not represent artificial behavior for the ornamentation of feelings.[29] A rustic country person who suddenly receives a tribute of respect will humbly shrink back, not daring to accept. If a small boy is walking in the street with hands folded in a posture of reverence, no violent or fierce person will dare to treat him with disrespect. These things happen not because the persons in question have received special training nor because they want to win reputation from men, but because these are natural expressions of what they have in their nature when they respond to external stimuli.

(2) "Therefore in the superiority of the heaven and the inferiority of the earth, natural order (or propriety: the same in the subsequent parts of this quotation) is already established. In the [logical] arrangement of affairs and the classification of things[30] natural order is already set to work. Man is a being who holds his position between the heaven and the earth, and who stands above all creatures and things. The heaven and the earth participate with him in the same constitution. All creatures and things participate with him in the same cosmic energy. The classification of the superior and the inferior [among men] is found manifested without being arranged. The sages following this [natural order] instituted the rituals of initiation,[31] marriage, funeral, sacrifice, audience with and engagement by the emperor, and banquet, in order that people may practice right conduct between ruler and minister, father and son, brother and brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. In the realm of the physical, it

[28] *Mencius*, VII, II, XXXVII, 13.

[29] Here it will be noticed that his theory is in direct contradiction to the theory of Hsün Tzu's school of thought.

[30] YK, Appendix III, I, I, I. Cf. CS, I, 1a:5–6.

[31] Initiation into manhood at twenty.

[natural order] is contained in the practical functions of things like eating, drinking, vessels, and vestments. In the realm of the superphysical, it goes deep down to things utterly intangible.[32] The ordinary man makes an effort to do it, the worthy practices it, the sage goes by it. Therefore it is that [natural order] is that which a person and his family and his state and his empire are to follow.[33] Where natural order is observed, peace prevails. When natural order is violated,[34] disorder sets in. Where natural order is preserved, [the reigning dynasty] is preserved. Where natural order is discarded, [the reigning dynasty] perishes.

(3) "From the earliest antiquities down to the late Five Dynasties,[35] although the alternate emphasis on 'substance' and 'pattern'[36] was different between the dynasties, yet there is none but must follow this natural order. Additions and subtractions, however, were made to its code from age to age. Among all the different codifications that of the Chou Dynasty is the most complete. That was why the Master once remarked: "[Chou had the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties.] How complete and elegant are its regulations: I follow Chou."[37] But in its more degenerate stage, faithfulness and righteousness were disregarded, and outward ceremonials became complex and multiple. [That was why] when Lin Fang asked about the essential principles of ceremonies, [the Master said that in ceremonies it is better to be sparing than extravagant.][38] [Upon another occasion] the Master also affirmed that in ceremonies and music he would rather follow the man of former times, [that is, in being more simple and real.][39] This was said with the purpose of correcting mistakes and counteracting corruption. However, was this deterioration the fault of the rules of propriety? No, the fault was theirs who made them.

(4) "[The First Emperor of] the Ch'in Dynasty (B.C. 221–207) burned books, and the ritual codes of the Three Dynasties were largely destroyed. When the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–219 A.D.) across in its steed, books were purchased. The forty-nine books of the *Li Ki* were collected from the oral traditions and records of various scholars. Not all of them represent a right understanding of the ideas of the Sage. An examination of their texts reveals that they often contradict one another in meaning. However, the texts being numerous, and the ideas they contain being manifold, when a student comes to study them it is like visiting a big street where he may pick up any jewels, vessels, or articles of silk that he

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[32]Lit. having no sound nor smell. Cf. *Doctrine of the Mean*, XXXIII, 6.

[33]Lit. that on which a person and his family etc. are to walk.

[34]Lit. put in disorder.

[35]A.D. 907–959.

[36]"Substance and pattern" was one of the "cycles" used by scholars of the Han Dynasty for their cyclical interpretation of history. For explanation, see the introductory part of Chap. 4.

[37]*Analects*, III, XIV.

[38]*Analects*, III, IV.

[39]*Analects*, XI, I.

may care to have, or like roaming in the A Fang Palace[40] where he may enter any of the thousands of doors that he may choose to enter; however, I say, if one studies it extensively and restrains himself by the rules of propriety, he may thus not err. from what is right.[41]

(5) "The teaching [of *Li Ki*] in its coarser aspects deals with manners of speech and of movement.[42] In the finer aspects it deals with the essentials of virtue, the nature of man, and the appointment of Heaven. It begins with exercises for children, and ends up in the attainment of sagehood. Only he who has penetrated the Tao can as a consequence understand the teaching [of the *Li Ki*]. Having been able to understand its teaching, he will then be able to comprehend [the meaning of] natural order. Thus it will be seen that though natural-order-in-itself [be difficult to see], nevertheless, its pattern is not far off to find. In the olden days, we learn that what Yen Hui was engaged in was nothing beyond the scope of looking, listening, speaking, and movement.[43] The records about Confucius in the 'Hsiang Tang' (Book X of the *Analects*) are chiefly concerned with his facial expressions and bodily movements.[44] This is where the scholar must doubt in order to think, and think in order to penetrate."—*ICWC, Appendix la: 11–2a: 3.

"Propriety is Li."—#IS, XV, 1b: 11.

"Fundamentally speaking, 'Propriety' is nothing but 'Order'. 'Music' is nothing but 'Harmony'…."

It was asked: "Is propriety the order of Heaven and Earth, and music the harmony of Heaven and Earth?"

He said: "You are right. [In this sense] there is nothing in the world without propriety and music."—IS, XVIII, 32b:6–7.

2.3.2 *Li in Its Relations*

2.3.2.1 Li and Heaven

We have mentioned that in Ch'eng I's thought the terms Li and Tao, Tao and Heaven are oftentimes used in an interchangeable way. The reason is obvious. For the essential nature of Heaven, according to him, is the moral law or Great Way or Tao, and the moral law is the all-inclusive National Order or Li which governs

[40]A maze of palaces built by the First Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty.

[41]Using expressions of Confucius in *Analects*, XII, XV.

[42]Lit. taking forward and backward steps, which was deemed important in the ancient rules of propriety.

[43]*Analects*, XII, I.

[44]Cf. *Mencius*, VII, II, XXXIII, 2.

everything. The following is but one of many similar casual remarks which reveals his instinctive understanding of these basic categories.

"That which is required by natural law or Li indicates [the will of] Heaven. That upon which all men agree indicates [the ripeness of] time."—*IC, I, 43a: 13f.

2.3.2.2 Li in Its Relation to Man

In the chapter on human nature, the relation of man to Li will be dealt with at length. Here, it is sufficient to give a brief quotation which shows that Li is the "given" content, the ordinance of Heaven, in man's moral consciousness, which makes a man man. As such, it stands in direct opposition to man's selfish desires, and even self-willed "creativeness". Since Li is the basic principle according to which Heaven is working out its continual creative process, it is obviously man's duty to follow the direction of Li in all his ethical and intellectual activities. Not only are selfish desires contrary to Li, but even discoveries and inventions for the benefit of the people are likely to be so unless they are done in the spirit of complete submission to and cooperation with the will of Heaven. The secret for the latter line of action is to look for the fullness of time. For there is a right time for every creative act. When a creative act is done in the right time, one can be sure that it is done in accordance with Li. Otherwise, it can be as unethical as any moral act done out of selfish desires.

Someone asked: "Mencius said that that by which man differs from animal is but little, and that ordinary people discard it while the high-minded gentleman preserves it. Now the difference between men and animals is great indeed. Did Mencius mean by this saying that the difference lies only in the fact of discarding and preserving?"

He [Ch'eng I] replied: "Assuredly. Man alone has this heavenly Li; and if he cannot preserve it, how can he be a man?"—IS, XVIII, 24b: 12–25a: l.

"Whatever Li or natural law requires is not contrary to truth. Whatever man selfishly desires to do, that is contrary to truth…. This [illustration] indicates that one does not initiate a thing, but follows the natural logic of events. When one initiates a thing, it is the [self-willed] doings of man's mind, which is contrary to truth. But when one follows the natural logic of events, that is in accordance with Li and in response to things, that is not contrary to truth…. The question may be raised, "Whatever creative work the sages may do for the benefit of the world naturally belongs to the category of initiated effort: can that be contrary to truth too?' The answer is: The sages do their creative work in accordance with the right time, and in accord with what is right in the customs of the particular ages concerned. They never anticipate times by forcing new usages on people before they are ready. If they do not need to wait for the ripeness of time, then one sage will be sufficient to do all that needs to be done, and there will be no need for a succession of sages. In other words, time is really the initiator of things. The sage only does things in accordance with time."—* IC, II, 36b: 6, 9–10, 11–13.

"Li is what is most impartial in this world of our experience. Profit is what is desired by all."—*IC, III, 44b: l. (YK, Appendix II, Hex. 42: 6).

2.3.2.3 Li in Its Relation to Human Artefacts

In his *Commentary on the Book of Changes,* Ch'eng I discusses the relation between the pattern and the artefact. This is, in fact, equivalent to that between Li and concrete things. Since Li is invisible, it requires symbolism to make it intelligible. But the diagrammatic symbolisms which are used to illustrate Li are sometimes derived from the artefact themselves. For instance, the Hexagram (no. 50) Ting derives its name from the cauldron, which is a tripod of bronze with two ears. The question is raised as to which exists first, the symbolism or the object itself. Now the word for symbolism, Hsiang, means an image, a pattern. Logically, says Ch'eng I, a pattern precedes the artefact and governs its form. But in practice, we have found that the pattern in some hexagrams, for example, Ting, is derived from an object.

Ch'eng I answers the question by making a distinction between pattern as such (which we call here the mental pattern) and pattern as symbolized by the hexagram (which we call the diagrammatic symbolism). Mental pattern which is as invisible as Li, and which is derived and abstracted from natural phenomena as referred to in Appendix III of the *Book of changes*, precedes the artefact just as the mental picture in the architect's mind precedes the blueprint, and the blueprint in its turn precedes the building. Diagrammatic symbolism, however, is a different matter. Since it borrows its idea from the artefact, it comes after it. Two patterns, in other words, are to be distinguished in a hexagram. There is the mental pattern, and there is the diagrammatic pattern. The mental pattern is anterior to the object, while the diagrammatic pattern is posterior to it.

What interests us here is the implication this discussion has for the relation between Li and concrete things. The mental pattern is apparently the Li of the artefact, and the relation here described is comparable to the relation between form and matter in Aristotle and the idea and its copies in Plato. However, a comparison of this kind requires always a great deal of precaution.[45]

"[In the *I*] that which is most imperceptible is Li, and that which is most perceptible is the diagrammatic symbolism [of the hexagrams]. Substance and

[45]Aristotle, for instance, speaks about "actuality and potentiality" in form and matter while Ch'eng I has no such an idea. Take the illustration of soil, grass and beef. Grass grows by absorbing nutrition from soil. The cow eats grass and turns it into beef. According to Aristotle, grass can be considered as the form of soil, and beef the form of grass. But according to Ch'eng I, one can only say that there is Li in grass, in soil and in beef, and that there is the Li of grass absorbing nutrition from soil, and the Li of the cow digesting grass form beef. But it is impossible to say that beef is the Li of grass, or that grass is the Ch'i of beef, etc.

Again to Aristotle matter is material: it includes things physical, mental, moral or spiritual, whereas to Ch'eng I, Ch'i is limited to things physical.

function are derived from the same source. The perceptible and the imperceptible are continuous [lit. without space between]."—*IC, Preface, iii, 9f.

"Li has no physical appearance, therefore diagrammatic symbolism is used in order to express its meaning. Ch'ien[46] takes the dragon as its symbol. Taken as a specific object, a dragon's mysterious changes are unpredictable. Therefore it is used to represent the changes and transformations of the ch'ien [principle at work in the universe]."—*IC, I, la: 13f.

"[Objection may be raised that] in the making of an implement, the idea is derived from a mental pattern. Now do you mean to say that in the formation of the hexagram its symbolism is derived from an imitation of the implement?

"The answer to this is: It is true that in the making of an implement the idea is derived from a mental pattern. The mental pattern is symbolized by (lit. abides in) the hexagram. But it is not necessary for the hexagram to precede the implement. The sage in inventing an implement did not have to see a hexagram first before he could visualize its mental pattern. It is because of the inability of ordinary men to understand the mental pattern that he made the hexagram in order to show them."—*IC, IV, 12b: 3–5. (YK, Hex. 50).

"The hexagram is called 'Ting' or cauldron because it is formed after the pattern of a cauldron. The cauldron as an implement is an imitation of the mental pattern of which the hexagram Ting is a symbol. There must be a mental pattern before there can be an implement. The implement is then used to illustrate the meaning of the hexagram."—*IC, IV, 12b: 13f. (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 50: l).

2.3.2.4 Li in Its Relation to Symbols and Numbers

It is clear from what is said above that Ch'eng I follows the position of common sense adopted by the *Book of Changes* (see YK, Appendix III, I, VIII and X) that natural phenomena come before mental patterns, and mental patterns come before human artefacts. But in the development of the School of Symbols and Numbers in connection with the exposition of the *Changes*, especially in the Sung period, scholars had come to take an opposite view that numbers come before symbols, and symbols before natural phenomena. (See Fung, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. II, Chap. III, Sect. 2). What follows represents Ch'eng I's refutation of this view.

"You said in your letter: 'The principles elucidated in the *Book of Changes* were derived originally from numbers.' Now it is incorrect to say that the principles were derived from numbers. For there must be Li before there are symbols. There must be symbols before there are numbers. The *Changes* explains Li by means of symbols, and arrives at numbers through the same medium. When the principles are grasped all that is represented by the symbols and numbers is included…."

P.S. "Li has no physical appearance. Therefore, it is made clear by means of symbols. But since Li is already seen in the texts and appendices [of the hexagram],

[46]The hexagram which is made of six undivided lines and which symbolizes heaven or yang.

we can now understand the symbols through these writings. This is why I said: 'When the principles are grasped, all that is represented by symbols and numbers is included.'"—*ICWC, V, 16a: 4–6, 8–9: "A Reply to Chang Hung-chung".

2.3.3 *The Investigation of Li*

Li so defined and related is to be investigated. The investigation of Li is not urged for scientific purposes. It is to be done because it is one of the main ways that leads to perfect manhood. The pursuit therefore is essentially ethical in character. This being so the material under the present subject logically belongs to the chapter on ethics below. But owing to the fact that the concept of Li plays such an important role in Ch'eng I's thought, and that many of his sayings with regard to Li were made in connection with the investigation of things, it seems advisable to anticipate the discussion by taking it up here so that one may learn as much as possible about his idea of Li at the beginning of the study.

In the *Great Learning* Confucius is reported to have said: "The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the empire first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts they first sought to achieve true knowledge. The achievement of knowledge lay in the investigation of things."[47]

The chapter in the *Great Learning* which is called "The Text of Confucius" from which the present quotation is made was taken by both the Ch'eng-Chu and Lu-Wang Schools of Neo-Confucianism to serve as the basis of their ethical methodology. The essential of ethical endeavours is the cultivation of one's own personality. But the fruition of these endeavours is not to be found in the ecstatic realization of truth, but rather in the fulfilment of man's supreme ethical duties toward society as a whole. The ideal here depicted is comparable to the Platonic ideal of a philosopher king, whose greatest function is to set the state in order. This social character of Confucian ethics served as the main ground for the Neo-Confucianists' attack upon the Buddhists. They believed that the Buddhists in giving up social relationships and retiring from the world in search for the emancipation of the soul were essentially selfish.

The Confucian methodology, then, which starts from the investigation of things aims at the realization of a socially conscious personality. But what does the investigation of things mean? What is it that a scholar in quest of perfect manhood is to investigate? Ch'eng I's reply was that it was Li. Li is the object of investigation for any one who aspires to ethical achievement. For Li means nothing less than

[47] *The Great Learning*, Text, 4.

moral law. To be sure Li has a physical aspect, just as Heaven and Earth and the Tao have their physical aspects. But it is the moral aspect that is of main interest to Ch'eng I and his fellow Confucianists. In order to achieve moral personality, one must learn all he can about moral law. And in order to learn about moral law, one must make a study of things.

The question arises as to whether to Ch'eng I a knowledge of moral law will necessarily lead to the building up of a moral personality. The answer is, it will. Here, he seems to follow the same line of thought as Socrates that knowledge is virtue, and apparently for similar reasons. For, in the first place, the object of knowledge that Ch'eng I had in mind, was, as has been said, moral rather than physical in nature. To him knowledge about physical phenomena was of little significance, unless it had something to do with ethical achievement. Indeed, as he said to his disciples: "What harm does it do if one does not know astronomy or geography?"[48] It is the Tao of Heaven that is of importance. In the second place, the method of knowing, as the nature of the object requires, was mainly intuitive rather than inductive or deductive. It will be seen from the quotations below that, so far as Li is concerned, to know is not just to perceive and apprehend and to take objective recognition by the intellect. It is rather to be deeply concerned and thoroughly convinced, and to appropriate the object of knowledge as one's spiritual food. The result of this way of knowing is not scientific knowledge, but an enlightenment of the mind, a penetration into the truth of moral life. With these brief remarks as introduction, we may now proceed to quote Ch'eng I's sayings under the following headings:

2.3.3.1 The Nature and Purpose of the Investigation of Li

"The investigation of Li, the fulfillment of one's own nature, and the attainment of the knowledge of Heaven's appointment[49] are but one thing. As soon as Li is thoroughly investigated, one's own nature is fulfilled. As soon as one's own nature is fulfilled, the knowledge of Heaven's appointment is attained."—IS, XVIII, 9a: 5.

Again it was asked: "What is meant by 'ke wu' or investigation of things?"[50]

The Master said, "'Ke' means to arrive at. 'Ke wu' means to probe to the depths of the laws of things."—IS, XXII A, la: 7.

The very quotation of the phrase "Ke wu" from the *Great Learning* implies, as in fact was the case, that he endorsed the text as the basis of his ethical teaching. The nature and purpose of the pursuit of a Confucian scholar as laid out in the text are taken for granted. The same is true of the following quotation which may be taken to be an interpretation of the same text.

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[48]IS, XVIII, 1a: 13–1b: 7.

[49]YK, Appendix V, I, 3.

[50]See Footnote 47.

"The reason why a man suffers from worries and a clouded mind is because he does not know what is essential. What is essential for a man is to understand the good. The secret of understanding the good is to investigate things and to probe to the depths of the laws (Li) of all things. When one does that, he will, after long practice, understand all things. For there is only one Law (Li)."—#IS, XV, 1b: 5–6.

2.3.3.2 The Method of Investigation

Under the influence of Ch'anism, scholars of those days tended to make the person's own mind the main object of study. Ch'eng I felt that although it is all right to study the mind, yet one must not limit oneself exclusively to introspection. On the other hand, all things in the world are adequate objects of study. For the same Li, that is within me is also to be found in all things, and the Li found in one thing is the same as the Li that is found in another. Therefore, it does not really matter which line of study one takes up. For all lines of study will lead eventually to the same one Li.

But it does not follow that since the Li found in one thing is the same as the Li found in another, therefore one need only understand the Li of one thing, and the Li of all other things will be plain. Li is indeed the one underlying rational order of all phenomena. But its manifestations are varied in various things. Therefore, it is advisable to conduct one's studies in as extensive a manner as possible. If one should be obstructed in one line of study, one may try another. The important thing is to keep at it all the time in order to accumulate knowledge and experience which will lead to an insight into all truths.

In the course of discussions about method, suggestions were made by Ch'eng I which if persistently pursued and developed might have led to the production of a scientific method. But unfortunately as the interest in the whole trend of thought was predominantly ethical, the investigation of physical phenomena never attracted any attention and no further progress was made in that direction.

It was asked: "In the investigation of things, does one investigate external things or things pertaining to human nature?"

He said, "Anything. All that spread out in front of your eyes are things. In everything there is law. For instance, the reason why fire is hot and water is cold, and all that govern the relationships between the ruler and the minister, the father and the son, are laws."

It was again asked, "When one probes into the depths of one thing, does he understand just this one thing, or will he thus be able to understand all other laws?"

He said, "One must investigate extensively. Even Yen Hui[51] was able to understand only ten things when he had heard one. But in a later stage, when one has a deep comprehension of the laws, even a million laws will he be able to understand." —IS, XIX, la: 3–6.

[51]Confucius' favourite disciple.

It was asked, "Does the expression to observe the laws of things and to examine the self mean that having seen a certain law in things one turns to examine it in himself?"

He said, "It is not necessary to put it that way. In things and in the self there is the same Law. As soon as that in the one is understood, that in the other is also understood: for that which is within the self and that which is without is one Law. All things great and small, from the heaven and the earth in their stupendousness to the basic principle of a little thing, are within the scope of what one ought to understand."

It was asked again: "In the 'achievement of knowledge'[52] what is your opinion if one begins by first examining the 'four seedlings'[53] of goodness?"

He said, "It is true that to examine the inward nature has a direct bearing on oneself. But there is law even in every plant of vegetation, which one ought to examine."

"To observe the laws of things and to examine the self. Being able to see Li clearly, one knows everything."—IS, XVIII, 8b: 12–9a: 3.

"By the investigation of things and the thorough search into laws is not meant that one should search into all the things in the world. The way is to probe one thing to the depths and then to reason about other things by analogy. Take for instance the question of filial piety: the way is to find out what makes the quality of filial piety.

"In the search for laws if one tries on one thing without result, one can try another. Some may want to do what is easy first, some may want to do the difficult first, depending on one's degree of achievement. It is like a thousand tracks and ten thousand paths all leading to the same country. All that one needs is to find one of them. The reason why it is possible to make a thorough search into the laws is because of the fact that it is the same Law that permeates all things. A thing or an event may be small, yet the same Law is there."—#IS, XV, 11a: 7–10.

Someone asked what ought to come first in the art of self-cultivation. He said, "Nothing should come before the rectifying of the heart and being sincere in thoughts.[54] Sincerity of thoughts depends on the achievement of true knowledge, and the achievement of true knowledge depends on ke wu, or the investigation of things. 'Ke' means to arrive at…. In everything there is a law. One must search into it thoroughly in order to arrive at its law. There are many ways of doing it. One may study a book and try to elucidate its ethical principles. Or one may make a study of great personalities ancient and modern and try to form a judgment about their rights and wrongs. Or one may be engaged in the practical management of affairs and try to find the right ways of dealing with them. All these can equally be thorough searches into the Li of things."

Someone asked, "In the investigation of things does one have to investigate everything, or does he investigate only one thing and all the laws will be known?"

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[52]See Footnote 47.

[53]*Mencius,* II, I, VI, 5–6. For explanation, see introductory part of Chap. 5.

[54]See Footnote 47.

He said, "How can that be possible? To say that by investigating only one thing all the laws will be understood: not even Yen Hui[55] dared to say so. No, the way is to investigate one thing today, and to investigate another thing tomorrow. After long accumulation of efforts, one can expect that of a sudden one would come to the possession of a penetrating insight into all moral truth."—IS, XVIII, 5b: 3–8. Cf. Chu Hsi, *Commentary on the Great Learning*, V. 2.

"When the physician does not have a thorough knowledge of laws, he will not be able to make full use of their properties (lit. natures) when he prescribes drugs. He only knows what each drug can cure. But he will not know the property when it is compounded with some other drug. For instance, the colour of k'o tzu[56] is yellow, and that of alum is white. But their compound is black. When the property of blackness is seen, those of yellowness and whiteness both disappear. Again, one plus two equals three. When three appears, one and two disappear. By reducing it to one and two, and the number three disappears. In these cases to look for one and two after they are compounded into three, or to look for yellow and white after they are turned into black is not to know the nature[57] of things.

"When the ancients made a thorough search into the laws of things, they would taste their tastes, smell their smells, distinguish their colours, and try to know what thing compounded with what thing would result in what property.

"There are five elements in the world. For that reason all living creatures have five natures, each with one of the five prominent, while the other four are latent. Take plants for instance, those that are yellow have the property of earth (an element) dominant in them; those that are white have the property of metal (another element) dominant in them."—#IS, XV, 15a: 5–10.

"Sounds are numbers."—#IS, XV, 12a: 4.

[55]See Footnote 51.

[56]An astringent nut now used for toothache in Chinese medicine.

[57]Note in the text: "A variant reads Li".

Chapter 3
His Idea of Nature

From very ancient times there existed in Chinese culture a strand of thought which was proto-scientific in nature and which tried to explain the universe in which we live in terms of natural forces and elements. The representatives of this type of thought talked about the yin and yang energies. They reduced the world of matter to five primary elements, namely water, fire, wood, metal and earth. By these and similar categories of thought they tried to answer fundamental cosmological questions such as: How did the universe come into existence? How does it work? What is the nature of history and how is it related to the cosmos? This line of thinking though always playing a secondary role and never having the chance of winning an ascendance, maintained nevertheless an unbroken historical continuity, since for the most part of the time they were fostered by one school or another. The story of its development[1] may be summarized as follows:

(1) Tsou Yen founded the Yin-Yang School in the fourth century B.C. His contribution was a systematization of traditional ideas in that particular field of thought. He taught a cosmology based on naturalistic presuppositions of yin and yang and the five elements and presented a cyclical interpretation of history.
(2) In the early Han period, roughly round 200 B.C., this line of thinking found its way into the Confucian system by being assimilated into two of its canonical scriptures, namely the *Li Ki*[2] (which includes the *Doctrine of the Mean*) and the Appendices of the *Book of changes*,[3] especially the latter. Those Appendices

[1]For fuller information about this subject consult the following:

(1) Y. L. Fung, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, chs. 12, 17, 19, and 23.
(2) Fung, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. I (English Ed.) chs. 3; 7: 7; 14: 8, 9; and 15. Vol. II (Chinese Ed.) chs. 2, 3, 6, 10–13.
(3) Ch'ien Mu, "Cosmology in the Appendices of the *Book of Changes* and the *Li Ki*" (in Chinese), *Ssu Hsiang Yü Shih Tai*, no.34, May 1, 1944.

[2]Especially, the "Li Yün" and the *Doctrine of the Mean*.
[3]Esp. the *Hsi Tz'u* or App. III in Legge.

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Y. Ts'ai, *The Philosophy of Ch'eng I*, China Academic Library,
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tried to explain the origin of the universe by combining the yin and yang ideas with the symbolisms of the trigrams and hexagrams. They also taught about the ever-continuing and orderly changes of the cosmos, a cyclical view of nature and history, and the ethical norms of the Tao, the Golden Mean, the timely action, and humility.

(3) Half a century or more after the above date, a great amalgamation of the Yin-Yang and Confucian Schools of thought took place. This happened in the so-called New Text School of Confucianism and was best represented by Tung Chung-shu (fl. 179–104 B.C.) The latter was a great theorizer who took over all the basic ideas from the Yin-Yang School for the interpretation of Confucian scriptures. This greatly re-enforced the efforts of the writers of the Appendices of the *Book of Changes* and the *Li Ki*, and helped to fix the ideas of the Yin-Yang School in the Confucian orthodoxy. Besides the development and adaptation of all the ideas mentioned above, Tung Chung-shu also laid a good deal of emphasis on the ancient theory about abnormal phenomena in the world of nature. The theory was that since Heaven and man were parts of the same cosmological constitution, any wrong action on the part of the government would mechanically affect the course of nature and bring about abnormal happenings such as floods or droughts, earthquakes, or eclipses of the sun and the moon.

(4) During the latter part of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C–219 A.D.) religious Taoism began to rise in power. In the course of its development, it absorbed various non-Taoism elements for the up-building of its own theology. Among the things it adopted, besides the Laotze, which in origin had nothing to do with religious Taoism, were firstly the ideas of the Yin-Yang School; secondly, Confucian Pseudepigrapha of Han times containing numerical and diagrammatical interpretations of the *Book of Changes*; and thirdly the *Book of Changes* itself and its Appendices. The Taoist adoption of the latter, incidentally, led to the production of the *Chou I Ts'an T'ung Ch'i*, which was known as the "King of the Scriptures of Immortality". These adoptions had the significance that the thoughts of the Yin-Yang School and their Confucian developments found thereby an excellent means of conservation and transmission in religious Taoism.

(5) In the third and fourth centuries A.D. when the Neo-Taoists Hsiang Hsiu (c. 221–c. 300) and Kuo Hsiang (died c. 312) worked on the *Commentaries* on the *Chuang Tzu*, they developed besides other things the idea of the origin of things by necessary self-transformation. This added to the stock of basic ideas for cosmological theorizing.

(6) When the great T'ang Confucian Li Ao (died c. 844) in his apologetical writings quoted from the Hsi Tz'u Appendix of the *Book of Changes* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, he was calling attention to these important works, bringing them to a prominent position, and setting the direction of thought for the Sung Neo-Confucianists two centuries later.

(7) The great pioneers of Neo-Confucianism in the eleventh century Chou Tun-I (1017–1073), Shao Yung (1011–1077) and Chang Tsai (1020–1077) were essentially cosmologists, as has already been said in the Introduction. Their basic cosmological ideas were derived from this long combined tradition of Yin-Yang School plus Confucianism plus Taoism. So far as the relation to Ch'eng I's cosmological ideas are concerned, special attention needs to be called to Chang Tsai' s development of the concept of Ch'i, or other, which in this dissertation has been rendered "energy". It will be seen that this concept was used a great deal by Ch'eng I in his discussions about nature.

With this long history of cosmological development behind him Ch'eng I did not find it necessary to work out anything new. For the purpose of providing a basis for his philosophical and ethical thinking, all that he did in regard to cosmology was simply to borrow generally from this great tradition. If there are any particular sources from which he drew more than others in this connection, they would probably be the *Book of Changes* and its Appendices, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the writings of Tung Chung-shu, and the teaching of Chang Tsai.

Ch'eng I's idea of nature may be presented as follows:

3.1 Yin and Yang

In the *Book of Changes*, Appendix III,[4] it is said, "[The working of] yin and yang as a complementary pair is what we call the Tao". The idea, as Ch'eng I understood it, is that the Tao, which is the invisible underlying truth of the universe, works itself out in the physical world through the two energies yin and yang. The Tao from which yin and yang come forth is Being and not-Non-Being or Void as the Taoists held. It belongs to the realm of the superphysical. The yin and yang, represented by the heaven and the earth, the male and female principles, and symbolized by the hexagrams ch'ien and k'un, belong to the realm of the physical. By their mutual influence and interaction, like those that take place between the male and female sexes in the biological world, changes and transformations happen, and all things and creatures are generated. Under the influence of the two energies, the cosmos is in the state of constant changes. These changes and motions go on in an orderly and ever-continuing manner. The essential function of these changes is the production and reproduction of creatures, which is taken to indicate that the fundamental character of Heaven and Earth is love towards living beings. This again is a re-interpretation of a text in the *Book of Changes* which says, "Production and reproduction is what is called change".[5]

[4]Sect. I, chs. V and XI.

[5]YK, App. III, I, V, 29.

"'[The working of] yin and yang as a complementary pair is what we call the Tao'.[6] The interaction of yin and yang and the mating of man and woman are the constant Li of nature."—*IC, IV, 27a: 12. (YK, App. I, Hex. 54: l).

"'[The working of] yin and yang as a complementary pair is what we call the Tao.'[7] The Li thus stated is indeed profound. But when it comes to explanations, there is nothing which can be explained".

"The cause, then, of the working of yin and yang is the Tao [which is one]. But when we come to yin and yang themselves, since they have been called the "energies", they are two. Moreover as they are said to be opening and closing,[8] interaction is already taking place. When there are two, there must consequently be mutual influence. The cause of opening and closing is the Tao. The openings and the closings are [the workings of] yin and yang. The Taoists say that from the void is energy born: it is not true. Yin and Yang, opening and closing, have in fact no before and after. One cannot say for instance that today there is yin, and tomorrow there is yang. They are like the form and the shadow of a man. Form and shadow are simultaneous. One cannot say that there is form today and shadow tomorrow. When one is there both are simultaneously there."—#IS, XV, 13b: 4–7.

"The ch'ien[9] principle changes and transforms, and it generates all things: the very big and the very small, the high and the low, each according to its kind: this is what is meant by 'each being exactly in accord with its nature and its ordinance'. What Heaven dispenses is ordinance. What things and creatures receive is called their nature….Heaven is the high ancestor of all things. The king is the secondary ancestor of all the principalities."—*IC, I, 2b: 8–11. (YK, App. I, I, I, 4).

"[Hexagram LXIV:] Wei Chi. 'Appendix VI' says, 'The succession of events cannot come to an end, and therefore [the hexagram] Chi Chi is succeeded by Wei Chi, with which the hexagrams come to a close.' [Chi Chi means successful accomplishment.] When an event has been successfully accomplished, it means the end of it. When an event comes to an end without having a change, then in reason it cannot be ever-continuing. But I means to change and to go on without ceasing. Therefore Chi Chi is succeeded by Wei Chi, with which the hexagrams come to a close. Wei Chi [means that a successful accomplishment is not yet realized. Since it is not yet realized it] means that events have not yet come to an end. Having not come to an end it has the implication of 'production and reproduction'."[10]—*IC, IV, 57b: 9–11. (YK, Hex. 64).

[6]YK, App. III, I, V, 24.

[7]See Footnote 6.

[8]YK, App. III, I, chs. VI and XI.

[9]The hexagram formed out of six undivided lines on top of each other symbolizing heaven and yang.

[10]See Footnote 5.

3.2 The Idea of Complementary Pairs

From the yin and yang is derived the principle of complementary pairs. This idea of the yin and yang forming a complementary pair can be traced back to an old tradition of which Ch'eng I was an interpreter. In the *Laotze* it is said, "From Tao there comes one. From one there comes two. From two there comes three. From three there come all things".[11] In the *Li Ki* it is said, "Natural Order must be rooted in the great One, which is divided to form Heaven and Earth, and revolved to make the yin and the yang".[12] The author of Appendix III of the *Book of Changes* writes: "In the I there is the Supreme Ultimate which produced the Two Forms".[13] The one represents the one ground of Being. The two represents Heaven and Earth, and in the case of the Appendix more especially the yin and the yang, which were instrumental in providing the universe with changes and movements by which all things were brought into existence. The yin and the yang, then, are the basic principles at work in the physical world. They are observed in all kinds of complementary pairs in natural phenomena; for instance, the male and the female, the day and the night, the sun and the moon, summer and winter, heat and cold. In the thought of Ch'eng I, this is abstracted into a general principle of complementary pairs which includes those of material and pattern, the essential and the non-essential, principle and practice, and even right and wrong, and good and evil. The latter pairs imply that logically wrong and evil are necessary as complementary to right and good, although the principle of complementary pairs is not the sole explanation of the problem of evil, to which we shall return in Chap. 6 below.

"Nothing in the world but goes in pairs. Two is the complement to one and is the basic fact about generation….There can only be one yin and one yang. How can there be two of each of them?"—*IC, III, 39a: 5, 9. (YK, Hex. 41: 3).

"When there is raw material, there are bound to be distinctive patterns. This is natural law. According to natural law, things are bound to go in complementary pairs, for this is the basic condition of generation. When there is what is called 'the above', there must also be 'the below'. When there is a 'this', there must also be a 'that'. When there is raw material (chih) there must also be distinctive patterns (wen) to it. The one cannot stand by itself. When there are two, patterns are formed. Who but the man of wisdom [lit. he who knows Tao] can understand this? The distinctive patterns of the heaven are the laws of the heaven. The distinctive patterns of cultural life are the laws of man".[14]—*IC, II, 25b: 8–10. (YK, App. I, Hex. 22).

"When there is the essential there is bound to be the non-essential. When there is the actuality of a thing there are bound to be distinctive features (wen). This applies to all things in our world of experience. Without the essential nothing can be firmly

[11]Ch. 42. Bodde's tr. in Fung, *Short History of Chinese Philosophy,* p. 96.

[12]*Li Ki*, "Li Yün", IV, 4, p. 386.

[13]YK, App. III, I, XI, 70.

[14]Here in this quotation, "law" and "natural law" have been used to translate the Chinese terms Li and Tao which are used in a rather loose and ambiguous way.

established. Without its distinctive features nothing can function. For instance, in the relationship between father and son, love is essential. But it is also indispensable to have concrete forms which give expression to the sternness of the father and the obedience of the son. In the relationship between ruler and subject, veneration is essential. But it is also indispensable to have ceremonial rites for meetings and receptions. Modesty and courtesy are inner qualities. They need ceremonial usages in order to be able to function. Bank and status go by degrees. But distinctions cannot be seen without different badges of office. Hence, it is clear that the distinctive features and the actuality of things are complementary and must always go together. But when it comes to the stage of the predominance of the ornamental badges (wen) and the superfluity of the non-essential, when the essential is forgotten and the actuality is lost, then it is time to cut off the excess."—*IC, III, 37b: 5–8. (YK, App. I, Hex. 41).

"Tao [has only] two [aspects]: there is Jen [perfect virtue] together with not Jen. This is how natural reason works. Tao never goes except in pairs. When there is yin there is also yang. When there is good there is also evil. When there is right there is also wrong. It is neither one nor three."—#IS, XV, 8b: 3–4.

"All things in the world go in pairs. Where there is yin there is also yang. Where there is good there is also evil."—#IS, XV, 14b: 8.

"…The heaven and the earth [which represent] yin and yang, the one being above and the other below, they look very much opposed. Yet they are mutually complementary in function. When there is yin there is also yang. When there is yang there is also yin. When there is the First there is also the Second. As soon as there are the First and the Second, there is also that which comes between them, namely, a Third, and so on ad infinitum.[15] Laotze has a saying to the similar effect: 'From Three all things and creatures are generated'. This is what is meant by the saying 'Production and reproduction is what is called the process of change'.[16] Natural law is so of itself.

"'The ordinance of Heaven, how inscrutable it is and how unceasingly it goes on';[17] this naturally entails that Li by itself goes on without ceasing, and not by man's doings. If it is man's doings, no matter if it is arranged in a million ways there will yet come a time when it ceases. It is exactly because it is non-action that it does not cease. In the *Doctrine of the Mean* it is said 'Such being the nature of absolute truth it manifests itself without being seen; it causes changes without motion; it accomplishes its ends without action. The principle in the course and operation of the heaven and the earth may thus be summed up in one word…'[18] Let the Buddhists put it in a thousand chapters and ten thousand sentences, let them

[15]The idea is that yang, or heaven, and yin, or earth, join together to produce things and creatures which are symbolized by the "Third." From this primordial stock all the rest of things and creatures are generated by reproduction or transformation.

[16]See Footnote 5.

[17]Originally form *Shih King*, p. 314; but here quoted from *Doctrine of the Mean*, XXVI.

[18]*Doctrine of the Mean*, XXVI.

speak in an infinite number of words, they will not be able to go beyond what is covered by these three statements. It is because the sage speaks in simple and short terms that the saying can imply an inexhaustible amount of meanings. The Buddhists are verbose in vain. Theirs are mere empty words."—IS, XVIII, 32b: 9–33a: 2.

3.3 The Concept of Ch'i or Energy

Ch'i is the most important concept in Ch'eng I's idea of nature. It is the fundamental category by which things in the physical world are explained: its counterpart in the superphysical realm being the concept of Li. In the earlier part of this chapter we have already mentioned that in the development of the concept Ch'i, Ch'eng I probably owed much to the influence of Chang Tsai. We are pretty certain of this because in a letter to the latter Ch'eng I highly praised Chang Tsai for the statement he had made that "The Void is Ch'i".[19] This interpretation met with Ch'eng I's special appreciation because it fits in very well with his realistic tendencies.

3.3.1 But What Is Ch'i?

The word Ch'i in everyday use means breath. Philosophically, it means other in the sense in which it was used in ancient Greek philosophy. Ch'eng I defined it as a name for the yin and the yang. These two, he said, are Ch'i. Ch'i belongs to the realm of the physical. By its condensation and dispersion things came into existence and went out of existence. As yin and yang they are said to be the manifested operation of the Tao. As Ch'i it is described as coming forth from the creative process of the universe. Creation is thought of as ever giving out this Ch'i, which goes to form physical things. But when things are destroyed, the Ch'i that constitutes them simply disappears without ever going back to Creation. This latter point he illustrated by the True Original Ch'i which he believed to reside in man. The existence of Ch'i in all things is also illustrated by the fact that when two pieces of stone hit each other, fire comes out. Fire to him means the yang ch'i.

With this general idea in mind the writer proposes to render the word by "energy", because like Ch'i and yin and yang, it is something not exactly visible yet definitely physical, and because in modern physics energy is considered as interconvertible with matter.

"In the creative process of the heaven and the earth and in the coming into existence of all things and creatures, all that have being is the result of condensation. The principle which underlines existence and non-existence, motion and

[19]*#ICWC, V, 4a: 8–9.

stillness, beginning and end, is nothing but [the basic fact of] condensing and dispersing. Therefore, by observing how they condense, the constitution of the heaven and the earth and all things and creatures may be seen."—*IC, III, 53b: 3–4. (YK, App. I, Hex. 45: 3).

"When energy is dispersed it is exhausted. It cannot accord to reason return to its source. Nature is like a great furnace, in which things are destroyed although at the same time things also continue to be formed.[20] When energy is dispersed how can it continue to exist? Moreover, how can nature in its process of continual creation have need of such dispersed energy? To call it a process of continual creation implies that in the process energy is continually generated."—#IS, XV, 15b: 7–8.

"The True Original Vital Energy of man is that from which breath (ch'i) is generated. This Vital Energy (Ch'i) does not mix with external air (ch'i) but is only embraced and nourished by it. Just like the case of fish in water: the life of a fish is not made of water. But it must be nourished by water in order to live. Human beings living in the atmosphere of nature are analogous to fish living in water. The nutrition of food and drink is but external nourishment…. The breath that is breathed out is not the same as the air that is breathed in. The Vital Energy in man can of itself generate breath (ch'i) which constitutes what is breathed out. The in-going breath enters only incidentally with the opening and closing mechanism. It does not mean that the Vital Energy needs it [for the production of the out-going breath]."—#IS, XV, 17b: 5–9.

It was asked, "Why is it that where thunder strikes there is fire?"

He replied, "Thunder itself has fire. We know that fire is obtained by boring wood. If there is fire in the wood, will it not have burnt the wood? No, it is rather due to the fact that when motion reaches its extreme, yang is generated. This is natural law. It is not confined to wood. When two pieces of stone hit each other, there is also fire. In the case of iron fire is not observed. But when it is hit repeatedly for a sufficient length of time it gets hot. This also entails the generation of yang".

[On another occasion, he also said], "In obtaining fire by boring wood, it is false to say that fire is generated by wood. When two pieces of wood strike each other violently enough yang is generated. Not only wood, but stone also; when pieces of stone crush against one another, fire comes out as a result. It seems that there is not one single thing or creature in this world of our experience in which yin and yang do not exist."—IS, XVIII, 41a: 11–41b: 3.

[20]Here, the exact meaning is obscure although the general idea can be made out. It is possible that either the original record or the text is defective at this point.

3.3.2 *The Generation of Living Creatures by the Transmutation of Energy*

It was asked, "In the time of extreme antiquity were men generated in the same way as things and creatures?"

He said, "Yes, they were."

"Is it true that men were formed out of pure energies and animals out of heterogeneous energies?"

"Yes," he said, "Man is the fine energies of the five elements, born of the unadulterated and sublimated energies of nature."

Someone asked, "When man was first generated was he directly transmuted from energies?"

He said, "This must be seen in the light of reason. Let us take time to discuss it. Now when a sandy islet appears suddenly on the surface of the sea, grass and plants are soon seen to grow on it. In a place where there is soil then, we are not surprised to find grass and plants generated. But when there are grass and plants naturally birds and animals are generated in them".

Someone asked, "In the recorded saying of yours there is this remark: 'who knows if there may not be people on the island who are the direct result of a transmutation of energies?' How do you explain that?"

He said, "In places which are not remote from the presence of human beings, certainly this does not apply. In places of extreme distance it is possible that there are such people".

It is asked, "But in the world today there is no human being who is not born of parents. Why is it that there was direct transmutation of energies in the ancient days and not now?"

He replied, "There are two kinds of creatures. Firstly there is the kind which is generated always by transmutation of energies, for instance the firefly, which is transmuted [i.e. spontaneously generated] from decayed grass. Since this kind of creature owes its generation to transmutation, when it is time to transmute, the process will take place by itself. The second kind owes its origin to transmutation, but it propagates by reproduction. For instance lice are sometimes found on new clothes after being worn for a few days. This is transmutation of energies. After the first transmutation, the process does not repeat itself. Generation is then done by reproduction. The rationale seems perfectly obvious."—IS, XVIII, 13a: 9–13b: 4.

"The meteorite has no parent. Its origin is energies. Neither has the unicorn any parent. It also was transmuted from energies. The same is true of human beings in the beginning. It is a matter of common observation that when a sandy beach appears on the seashore, all kinds of creatures, birds and animals, and grass and plants grow spontaneously on it without parenthood. This being so, and if there should exist in the middle of the sea islands of fair size, which are beyond the reach of human beings, who knows that human beings are not generated on them without

parenthood? In places where humankind is already in existence, it is certain that no such person can be found who has been transmuted directly from energies."—#IS, XV, 14b: 1–3.

3.3.3 *The Fire Elements Are Mentioned Without Much Explanation*

Someone said, "The five elements are but the one energy".

He said: "It has been held that the five elements are one thing. But I said that they are five. Since they are called the 'five elements', how can they be but five? [Nature] must first be complete with these five before it can generate things. An analogy might be drawn from the five constant virtues.[21] Who does not know that they are all parts of the same Tao. But since they are called the five constant virtues, they must not be mixed up and thought of as one."—IS, XVIII, 31a: 9–11.

3.3.4 *Li and Ch'i*

With regard to the relation between Li and Ch'i not many explicit remarks are available in our source. The following sayings already quoted might be recalled for consideration:

(1) "Apart from yin and yang there is no Tao. That by which yin and yang are set to work is Tao. Yin and yang are energies. Energies belong to the physical realm. Tao belongs to the superphysical realm."—#IS, XV, 14b: 13f.
(2) "[In the I] that which is most imperceptible is Li, and that which is most perceptible is the diagrammatic symbolism [of the hexagrams]. Substance and function are of the same source. The perceptible and the imperceptible are continuous."—*IC, Preface, iii, 9f.
(3) "The hexagram is called 'Ting' or cauldron, because it is formed after the pattern of a cauldron. The cauldron as an implement is an imitation of the mental pattern of which the hexagram Ting is a symbol. There must be a mental pattern before there can be an implement. The implement is then used to illustrate the meaning of the hexagram."—*IC, IV, 12b: 13f. For explanation see above Sect. 2.3.2.3.
(4) "[Li-in-itself is] void and pure, and without any sign of the beginning of anything physical. Yet it is already complete with all things. Before it is applied [in anything concrete] it is not [therefore something] anterior; after its application, it is not [therefore] posterior. It is like a hundred-foot high tree, which

[21]Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and good faith.

from the [unseen] roots up to the [visible] branches and leaves forms one organic whole. One must not say that what is stated above is too abstract, and that Li needs human arrangement, to direct it, as it were, on to some track. If there is any track, there can only be one track."—#IS, XV, 8a: 10–12 (c. A.D. 1080). See explanation in Sect. 2.3.1.1, both before and after quotation.

Our impression from these remarks is that although Ch'eng I did upon some rare occasions deal with Li as a logical entity in itself, and although logically he thought that Li is anterior to the works of human creativity, yet his more usual way was to think of Li as always related to things, Li which is invisible is "continuous" with things that are visible. The rationale of a thing is organically one with its concrete embodiment. Apart from the yin and the yang there is no Tao. Apart from its physical manifestations Li is inconceivable.

3.4 Spiritual Beings

In identifying spiritual beings with Ch'i and in saying that spiritual beings are an indication of the creative process of nature Ch'eng I was echoing a general tendency in the cosmological tradition mentioned above. The tendency was to find a useful cosmological category in the term "spiritual beings". The ancients following animistic lines of thinking believed that in every creature and thing there was a soul. They also believed that human beings both living and dead had souls. These souls of things, creatures, and human beings were all called by the categorical term "spiritual beings". To the writers of the Appendices of the Book of Changes, chiefly the author of Appendix III,[22] this had great cosmological significance. Because here in the concept of spiritual beings one common element was found which was essential to things both animate and inanimate, living and dead. It seemed as though in it something was grasped by which Heaven and man and all things in the physical and superphysical realms might be explained. A saying which is most typical of this development is found in Appendix III, which says: "That which is unfathomable in the movement of the yin and the yang is the spirit" (ch. V, 32).

At about the time of the writer of Appendix III, (namely c. 200 B.C.), Author B of the *Doctrine of the Mean* was developing a parallel line of thought. He noted that the basic character of the cosmic order is its ability to go on everlastingly without ceasing, which to him suggested the quality of Ch'eng or being true to its own nature. By Ch'eng, he thought, the universe operates in its never-ending process of creation and transformation. By Ch'eng all things are brought into existence. By Ch'eng all things arrive at their destiny. By Ch'eng also man is enabled to attain perfect manhood. By Ch'eng the sage after fulfilling his own nature is able to cooperate with Heaven and Earth and help bring all things to their ordained state of

[22]The term "spiritual beings" appears 26 times in App. III, 4 times in App. I, 2 times in App. IV and 2 times in App. V.

fulfilment. Ch'eng is therefore the one basic principle and virtue of all existence. Just as the author of Appendix III found in spiritual beings a category by which he thought all things could be explained, so Author B of the *Doctrine of the Mean* found in Ch'eng a basic category by which he thought the operation of all things could be understood. But to us the most interesting thing is that the latter too associated this basic category of his with spiritual beings. In one place he said, "The quality of absolute Ch'eng is like spiritual beings".[23] In another place, after a description of the character of spiritual beings he said, "Such is the manifestation of the imperceptible. Such is the impossibility of obscuring the revelation of Ch'eng!"[24] The impression he gave was that Ch'eng belongs to a category similar to that of spiritual beings, if not the very same, and that the functionings of the cosmic order are to be accounted for by concepts like Ch'eng or spiritual beings.

In his teaching Ch'eng I did not add anything to the development of this line of thinking. What he said was chiefly a repetition of some of the traditional ideas in trying to correct current superstitious misconceptions which he found reflected in the minds of his disciples.

It was asked: "With regard to the popular belief about spiritual beings, although one knows that they are non-existent, why is it that one is yet unable to be free from the fear of them?"

He said, "That is simply due to one's own apprehensions".

It was asked: "How can one be enabled to understand the truth of it?"

He said, "One can understand if one apprehends the sayings [in the *Book of Changes*][25] that [the sage perceives how the union of] essence and energy forms things, and the wandering away of the soul produces the change [of their constitution], and that he traces things to their beginning and follows them to their end. Special effort should be made on the idea of 'tracing'".

Someone asked: "Does the word 'change' in the expression 'the wandering away of the soul produces the change [of their constitution]' mean transformation?"

He said, "Since it is called a 'change' it implies that what is existent becomes non-existent, and what is solid becomes disintegrated: and nothing is left [lit. there is no more anything]. With regard to the question of spiritual beings, no more explanations like these can convince you, even though you understand what I say. The only thing is for you to apprehend it for yourself [by intuition]".

Someone asked: "By what way can one be free from fear?"

He said, "When the spirit is calm, one will naturally not be afraid. But if the spirit is not sufficiently strong, one must not force oneself to be brave."—IS, XVIII, 6b: 8–7a: 2.

"'Spiritual beings' means indications (lit. marks) of the creative process of nature."—*IC, II, 1b: 8. (YK, App. I, Hex. 15: 2). Ref. *IC, I, la: 8; 7b: 13.

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[23] *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. XXIV.

[24] Ibid., ch. XVI.

[25] YK, App. III, I, IV, 21. The original text of the quotation is obscure. Here we use the English version of Legge's, which was based on Chu Hsi's *Commentary*.

It was asked again: "In the *Book of Changes* it is written that the sage knows the characteristics of spiritual beings,[26] is it really that they have characteristics?"

He said, "Yes, they have".

It was again asked: "Since they are said to have characteristics does it follow that they exist?"

He said, "What the *Book of Changes* calls 'spiritual beings' is the creative process of nature".

Someone asked again: "Why is it that famous mountains and great rivers can give rise to clouds and cause rains to fall?"

He said, "Simply by the evaporation of Ch'i (which here means air)".

Again it was asked, "Since sacrifices are made [to these mountains and rivers] does it follow that there are spirits in them?"

He said, "Simply Ch'i: Ch'i is spirit. Being ignorant of this truth, modern people, as soon as there is a flood or drought, will go and pray in the temples. They do not know what the rains and the dews are, nor from where they come, or else why do they pray for them in the temples? How famous mountains and great rivers can give rise to clouds and cause rains to fall, they never think (lit. mention) about it. On the other hand, they go and pray for [seasonal] rains and dews from idols made of wood and earth. Do such idols made of wood and earth possess rains and dews?"

Someone asked again, "Are supernatural appearances caused by man?"

He said, "There is no such thing as a supernatural appearance. They are all caused by the human mind. When people prayed for rain and there was rain, they thought that the object to which they prayed had worked effectively, not knowing that things can happen by chance."—IS, XXII A, 8a: 13–8b: 6.

Someone asked, "What is meant by the 'soul' and the 'animal soul' of man?"

He said, "The soul is of yang character. The animal soul is of yin character. This is what is meant by the expression that the soul returns to the heaven, while the animal soul returns to the earth. The Taoist theory that man has three souls and seven inferior souls is false."—IS, XVIII, 13a: 6–7.

It was asked, "Are spirits moved by the earnestness or good conduct of man?"

He said, "The fact which you describe as their being moved is certainly there. [It has been said that] when one has made the utmost achievement in filial piety and fraternal love, he can influence spirits. But spirits and the achievement of filial piety and fraternal love are not two different things. Filial piety and fraternal love are the Li (or truth) of the spirits".

Someone asked again: "Do you think that the case of Wang Hsiang's filial love is one that can be described as being able to influence spirits?"[27]

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[26]YK, App. III, I, IV, 21.

[27]Wang Hsiang was known as one of the model sons. Having noticed that his mother craved for fish, he was deeply concerned to get some for her. But it was winter and the river was frozen. He broke the ice, and two carps leaped out. This was interpreted as a case of spirits being moved by human earnestness.

He said, "Yes, it is. But the response was effected directly by Wang Hsiang's earnest sincerity. One must not think that here Wang Hsiang is being a good son, and there someone is causing the carps to leap out."—IS, XVIII, 32a: 2–4.

"A reply to Pao Jo-yü's letter with answers to his questions":

[Question]: "In the *Book of Changes* it is said: 'That which is unfathomable in the movement of the yin and yang is the spirit'; again: 'When we speak of spirit we mean the subtle [operation of a certain power] in all things'.[28] From this we conclude that what the Buddhists say about spiritual beings is absurd. On the other hand, scriptures also contain such sayings as 'The [ghost of] the ancestors come [to the service]',[29] and 'While respecting spiritual beings keep aloof from them'.[30] From these it would seem that there is some truth in what the Buddhists say. My humble opinion is that where energies of the same kind respond to each other that is the presence of the spirit. Only, one must hold the attitude of absolute sincerity, and must not approach it with irreverence. For to do so is to miss it altogether [lit. for if one approached it in such a way he would not know it even though it be there]. What do you think of this?"

[Answer]: "By brooding over it long enough you will understand."—*ICWC, V, 17b: 3–6.

3.5 Nature and Human Conduct

In the beginning of the chapter reference has already been made to Tung Chung-shu's development of the traditional idea that abnormal phenomena in nature are caused by human aberrations. Ch'eng I was prepared to endorse this theory so long as it stayed within the bounds of that which is reasonable, although he was critical of the superstitious tendency of some of the Han scholars. The following quotations will give a general idea of the contents of his thought in this connection. Attention is called particularly to the final saying quoted which reveals his definite disbelief in a personal God.

"…I have heard that the calamities of flood and famine are due to the disharmony of yin and yang. The disharmony of yin and yang is caused by political affairs. Hence from of old when calamities happened an enlightened king was sure to take warning from them and become fearful. Consequently he would search himself for faults, and would examine the affairs of the state for things left undone. He would also ask for discussions from his ministers, seeking for ways and means by which to accord with the mind of Heaven and to bring about harmony in nature. Therefore he was able to stop calamities and to maintain lasting peace."—*ICWC, I, 1a: 8–10.

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[28]YK, App. III, I, V, 32: App. V, VI, 10.

[29]*Shu King*, II, IV, 2.

[30]*Analects*, VI, XX.

It was asked: "when the woman of Tung-hai, who was known for her filial love towards her parents-in-law was killed, there came a drought. Was the drought caused by the grievance felt for her by the people of the country?"

He said: "It is true that the people grieved over the wrong. But a single person's feeling is sufficient to move nature. One may not say that the killing of a good daughter-in-law cannot cause a drought".

Someone asked: "when after the [guilty] mother-in-law was killed the rain came, did it come because the resentment in the hearts of the people had been dispelled?"

He said, "It is true that by then the grievous feeling in people's hearts had been removed. But the grievance felt by the filial woman had been removed too. For although she was dead, the feeling of wrong was still there. Therefore one must not say that the killing of the mother-in-law could not dispel the wrong of the woman and cause the rain to fall."—IS, XVIII, 41a: 3–6.

When the Master Ch'eng was discussing politics with someone, the Master Ch'eng said, "Oh how wicked is the conduct of the ordinary people! When a cow is young and strong they profit from her power. When she gets old, they slaughter her".

The man said, "But they cannot but do it. When a cow gets old, she can no longer be used. By slaughtering her they can still get half of the price of a cow. This sum of money, supplemented by a loan, can be used to purchase a young cow. Otherwise farming would have to be given up. Moreover, how can one have so much hay and grain to feed a useless cow?"

The Master said, "Your argument indicates a calculation of profit and not a knowledge of right conduct. Nothing is more essential in politics than to develop people's good conduct. It has never before happened that people suffer from want of food and clothing when their customs are good. The calamities of flood, drought, and insects are all caused by evil deeds."—IS, XXI A, 2b: 6–10.

"The *Spring and Autumn Annals*[31] recorded that Heaven let meteorites and frost fall upon the earth.[32] But why did it not simply say that meteorites and frost fell from the sky! Here we see the emphasis on the unity of Heaven and man. [When I was Expositor of Canonical Texts at the Ch'ung Cheng Hall in the imperial court] I told the Emperor Che-tsung that the mutual influence between Heaven and men was very awe-inspiring. When one did right, the favourable response of Heaven was found a thousand Li away.[33] When one did wrong, the unfavourable response of Heaven was found a thousand Li away. A long time ago when Yen Kuang[34] slept in the same bed with the Emperor Kuang Wu of the Han Dynasty, the chief astronomer reported that a strange star was observed to be invading the imperial constellation at a great speed. Now Yan Kuang was but a mere civilian, and yet Heaven responded to his conduct in such a way. How much more should one be careful and

[31] *Ch'un Ch'iu*, one of the five classics.

[32] The ancients believed that frost falls from heaven.

[33] One li is about 1/3 mile.

[34] Yen Kuang, styled Tzu-ling, 37 B.C.–43 A.D., was a friend of Emperor Kuang Wu.

cautious in thought and deed when one is the one man whom the whole nation venerates."—IS, XXIII, 3b: 6–9.

"A gentleman, when he is frightened by the terrors of Heaven, will rectify his personality, searching out his faults and correcting them. Not only upon the occasion of thunderings, but also in the experience of everything frightening must he do the same."—*IC, IV, 17b: 4–5. (YK, App. II, Hex. 51).

"The movement of the yin and yang is constant and without mistake. Whenever it goes out of order, it is always because of the influence of human conduct. That explains why in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, whenever there is any calamity or abnormal natural phenomenon, there is bound to be a record of it. The scholars of the Han Dynasty handed down the theory without understanding its inherent truth, with the result that most of what they said was erroneous."—*CS, IV, 10a: 9–10.

[Text:] "In the autumn there was a flood".

[Comment:] "When the ruler cultivates good virtues harmonious energies will respond to him and there will be timely rains and sunshine. But Duke Huan violated human obligations; and when there came the harmful response of the yin energy (i.e., the flood) that was what he deserved."—*CS, IV, 12a: 2–3.

[Text:] "A plentiful year".

[Comment:] "To write 'a plentiful year' is to record an abnormal phenomenon. For when human affairs go properly and smoothly below, the atmospheric energies will be harmonious above. By murdering the ruler in order to establish himself, Duke Huan violated the heavenly Li (Law) and did injury to the order of human relationships. For that reason the energies of nature became perverse and erroneous. Floods, droughts and other natural calamities were what should have happened. But instead there was a plentiful year. That was abnormal and was the reason why it was recorded."—*CS, IV, 13b: 3–6.

"Hail is the energies of yin and yang striking against each other. It is an evil energy. When a sage is reigning there is no hail. Even if there is, it does not form a calamity. Though it does not form a calamity, it nevertheless is there as an evil energy."—IS, XVIII, 41b: 12–13.

It was asked, "When a man of evil deeds is striken to death at a clap of thunder, is he shocked to death by his own fear upon hearing the crash of thunder because he knows that he is wicked?"

The Master said, "No. Thunder strikes him".

"If, as you say, it is thunder that strikes him, is there some one there who causes thunder to do it?"

The Master said, "No. The evil energy of man's evil deeds clashes with the evil energy of nature, which smites him to death. Claps of thunder are the anger of nature. It is true that human anger is sometimes righteous. But when the emotion of anger causes a man to do evil it shows that anger is also an evil energy. Nature's anger and man's evil energy interact with each other therefore it works out this way."—IS, XVIII, 41a: 7–10.

Chapter 4
His Idea of History

Ch'eng I's idea of history was a continuation of his idea of nature, which, as has been said, he inherited from an old Chinese tradition. From very ancient times, a law was observed in natural phenomena to the effect that things go in cyclical rounds such as that of day and night, the seasonal changes of the year and the general movements of the celestial bodies. This law was believed to be applicable in history. Tsou Yen (fourth century B.C.), the founder of the Yin Yang School of whom we spoke in the last chapter, interpreted it in terms of the alternate thriving and declining of the yin and the yang. The author of the *Laotze* observed that "Reversion is the action of the Tao".[1] The authors of the Appendices of the *Book of Changes* dealt with the idea at full length in their interpretations of the symbolisms of the 64 hexagrams contained in the book. To explain this latter briefly it may be said that each of the hexagrams is constituted by six horizontal lines arranged one on top of another. These lines are either divided in the middle or undivided. The undivided line symbolizes the yang principle. The divided line symbolizes the yin principle. The yang principle represents that which is found in the heaven, the sun, the male, the ruler, the father, the strong, the good, the virtuous, light, warmth, the world of the living, etc.. The yin principle represents that which prevails in the earth, the moon, the female, the minister, the mother, the weak, the bad, the wicked, darkness, coldness, and the world of the dead, etc.. Each of the yin or yang lines in its particular position in a particular hexagram has its particular symbolic meaning. Moreover, the line is considered to represent a living person. Instead of being static, it is thought of as being able to move towards or downwards, and as having feelings, proposes and moral intentions. Now, one of the basic ideas developed under this complicated system is the belief that it is a law of history that the yin and the yang take turns to thrive. When the yin is in the ascendant, the yang will be on the decline. But when the yin reaches the limit of its ascendency, a change is bound to happen: the yin begins to decline and the yang begins to have its turn of thriving.

[1] *Tao Te King*, Chap. 40.

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Since there are yin and yang in all things, the cycle is supposed to take place in all human affairs.

The other basic idea that Ch'eng I inherited from the old tradition with regard to history is the theory of the "Five Powers" of the five elements. The theory was taught by Tsou Yen and developed by Tung Chung-shu (fl. c. 179–104 B.C.) and other Han scholars. The general idea was that the five elements, wood, fire, earth, metal and water, represent five powers, which not only beget one another, but also conquer one another. Thus, metal conquers wood; wood conquers earth; earth conquers water; water conquers fire and fire conquers metal. As they take turn in the serial conquest, each conquering element will take its role in the domination of nature and man. Consequently, a reigning dynasty which has the virtue of that particular element will rise to rule the empire. The dynasty which represents the virtue of the dominating element must adopt the colour of the element as the national colour and manage national affairs in accord with its particular indications. Thus, when in the time of Emperor Yü (accession according to tradition, 2205 B.C.), a certain extraordinary natural phenomenon revealed that wood element had become dominant, the Hsia Dynasty (2205–1784 B.C.), which was believed to have the virtue of wood, rose consequently to power. Green was then adopted as the national colour, and "wood" was supposed to be the outstanding concern of the government. At the end of Hsia Dynasty, the element of wood was conquered by metal. The Shang Dynasty (1783–1123 B.C.), which had the virtue of metal, arose. Its national colour was white, and its outstanding concern "metal', and so on. As these five powers rotate in a cycle, so history goes on in a cyclical movement.

Besides the cycle of the five powers, other cycles were also taught by Tung Chung-shu and other Han scholars, of which only one was mentioned by Ch'eng I, namely the cycle of "substance and pattern".[2] Substance and pattern are a complementary pair. They represent heaven and earth, yin and yang, inward quality and outward appearance. The idea was that as the yin and the yang revolve in a complementary manner, so dynasties representing the alternate qualities of substance and pattern will take turn to appear in history.[3]

During the thousand years before Ch'eng I, Buddhism brought into China a cyclical view of history from India. The outstanding contribution of the Buddhist view is the teaching of the cosmic cycle of four periods, namely formation, station, deterioration, and annihilation, and of the possibility of an indefinite number of such cosmic cycles in succession. Both Shao Yung (1011–1077) and Chu Hsi (1130–1200) came under the influence of this idea and believed in the beginning of a new era after the present universe comes to an end.[4] Ch'eng I, however, showed

[2]*ICWC, Appendix 1a: 11–2a: 3, quoted under Chap. I, III, A, 5.

[3]Ref. Fung, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, Chinese Ed. Vol. II, II, 11.

[4]Ref. Fung, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, Vol. II, IX: 6; XI: 5; XIII: 3.

no sign of adopting the Buddhist view, although logically he could not avoid a similar conclusion if his cyclical universe was running down, and if, as he fully believed, in the operations of all things there is no going away without a coming back.

So much for the background of Ch'eng I's idea of history. As to the idea itself, it can be summed up in three lines of thought, firstly, the cyclical view of history; secondly, the law of cause and effect in history; and thirdly, the mysterious phase of history which he called Fate. The material under these and their subheadings can readily be understood without further explanation. However, an important question must first be asked, and that is, can the idea of Fate be compatible with a philosophy which believes in the rational character of the universal order?

Ch'eng I observed that all things in history are not interpretable by reason. These interpretable happenings he called Fate, and also associated with Ch'i or the energies. What then could he mean when he said that Ch'i is Fate? Did he mean that Ch'i, like matter in Plato, is a material upon which Li has to work, which in itself is blind and offers resistance to Li? Could he have concluded therefore that it is possible sometimes for Ch'i to get out of the hands of Li, and work itself out blindly upon human history, so that things begin to happen which are absolutely beyond the possibility of interpretation by human reason? But when we recall his repeated sayings that where there is a thing there is a Li, and that everything under the sky has its Li, it does not seem possible that there can by any chance be a time when Ch'i can exist apart from Li. If then all things have Li in them and nothing exists apart from Li, it is out of the question that Ch'i should ever be considered as being a blind force working without reason.

If it is granted that Ch'i never works without reason, what could Ch'eng I mean when he said that Ch'i is Fate? Perhaps he could mean that as the human intellect is limited, there are always things which man cannot understand. Then such a thing happens in the workings of Ch'i in history, we call it Fate. Perhaps he could mean that there are things which happen in history which are not only beyond the apprehension of human reason but also beyond the control of human power in face of which man is absolutely helpless. It seems reasonable to suppose that he meant both. If the supposition is true then the expression that the energies are Fate simply means that the workings of nature are sometimes completely beyond human understanding. It is significant to note that in a humanistic philosophy where man occupies a central position in the natural order there is this frank admission that after all man is finite and sometimes helpless.

4.1 A Cyclical View of History

4.1.1 A Cyclical History in a Cyclical Cosmos

"The five elements, …probed to their depths, are but the natural law of alternative thriving and declining…. Wood begets fire, fire begets earth, earth begets metal, metal begets water, water begets wood, and so on. This is nothing but an alternate rotation of prospering [and declining]."—IS, XVIII, 31a: 4–7.

"With regard to the revolving cycle of the five powers [of the five elements], it sounds like a reasonable view to take. In all things there are these five. Their examples both small and great are innumerable.

"In the case of one day there is yin and yang of the day. In the case of one hour[5] there is the yin and yang of the hour. In the case of one year there is the yin and yang of the year. In the case of on chi (or period of twelve years), there is the yin and yang of one chi. The rotation of the energies of the yin and the yang never ceases. The era of a reigning dynasty is another great yin and yang. The T'ang Dynasty (618–906 A.D.) had the virtue of the element of earth, therefore there were few floods.[6]

"The present dynasty (namely, Sung) has the virtue of fire and consequently there have been many floods [a variant reads 'fires']: it seems there is such a Li."—IS, XIX, 12b: 1–5.

"Consider the Three Dynasties,[7] how many sages were born then. But why is it that from the subsequent ages till the present time[8] none has been heard of? It seems that it is natural with [cosmic] energy that when there is a period of thriving there is bound to be a period of decline, and that a period of decline is bound to end up with a period of thriving again. If winter should not be followed by spring, if night should not be followed by day, then [the creative process which is taking place continuously by] the transmutation of the cosmic energy would cease."—#IS, XV, 3a: 6–7.

"[Periods of] thriving and declining, increase and diminution go in cycles. When diminution reaches the extreme, increase is bound to set in: this is the natural course of the law of nature (Li)."—*IC, III, 40b: 1. (YK. Hex. 42).

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[5]The Chinese hour shih is equivalent to the duration of two hours in the modern system.

[6]The reason is that earth was believed to conquer water. Statistically Ch'eng I's remark about the relative frequency of floods in the T'ang and Sung Dynasties is correct. According to Chinese official history, during the 289 years of T'ang, 305 floods were recorded, while during 167 years of Northern Sung, 364 were recorded. When the number of floods is divided by the number of years, the average number of floods per year for T'ang is 1.05 while that for Sun is 2.17. Refer Yao Shan-yu, "The Geographical Distribution of Floods and Droughts in Chinese History", Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. II, NO. 4, pp. 366 ff.

[7]The golden age of history in the Confucian conception, namely Hsia, Shang, and Chou. See Chap. 2, Footnote 15.

[8]Reading chin instead of ming according to the *Wan Yu* Text.

"According to Li nothing goes to an extreme limit without turning in an opposite direction. Once the limit is reached nothing can prevent [the operation of the law] no matter how well one may be able to deal with the situation."—*IC, IV, 57a: 11. (YK, Hex. 63:5).

"As a general rule when the state of a departure from Tao comes to extreme expression there is bound to be a return towards right moral principles."—*IC, III, 28a: 9–10. (YK, Hex. 38: 6).

"The natural law of events is to go in cycles. That which is below is bound to rise up. That which is above is bound to go down. After a long period of the state of T'ai, that of P'i is bound to set in.[9] Therefore at a stage when T'ai is at its height, and yang is about to move upward[10] the book gives the warning that there is no state of constant tranquillity which is not liable to be threatened with danger, which is to say, there is no constant peace. The expression that there is not state of a constant going away without possibility of return refers to the fact that yin will come back. When that which is peaceful turns dangerous and that which goes away comes back, it is the state of P'i. And we must know that this is bound to be so in the natural order of things (or according to the heavenly Li). During the time of T'ai, one does not dare to relax, but must always be mindful of distresses that may arise, and remain upright and firm in conduct; in this way he will not commit any error. When during the state of T'ai one is able to do so he will be able always to preserve his peace."—*IC, I, 42b: 5–9. (YK, Hex. 11: 3).

"According to the natural law of events whenever a limit is reached things are bound to proceed in an opposite direction. Hence when the state of T'ai reaches its limit the state of P'i sets in. Similarly, when the state of P'i reaches its extremity the state of T'ai sets in."—*IC, I, 46b: 11. (YK, Hex. 12: 6).

"The upward and downward urges of the yin and the yang have to do with the states of P'i and T'ai in the course of events [lit. the revolvement of time]. The heaven and the earth may either communicate with one another or not,[11] this is but normal with the law of nature (Li). When T'ai has proceeded beyond the centre,[12] change will soon take place."—*IC, I, 43a: 7–8. (YK, Hex. 11: 4).

"'There is no going away without a return': this is a description of 'the interaction of the heaven and the earth'. When the yang falls down to the bottom it is bound to return to the top. When the yin rises to the top it is bound to return to the bottom. This is the constant law of expanding and contracting, going away and coming back. Here for the purpose of warning, the law of the interaction of the heaven and the earth is used in order to show the principle that the states of P'i and T'ai are not constant."—*IC, I, 43a: 1–2. (YK, App. II, Hex. 11: 3).

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[9]Hexagram 11, T'ai, denotes things having free course, hence symbolizing a state of peace and repose. Hexagram 12, P'i, denotes the opposite.

[10]Referring to the third line from the bottom of the hexagram.

[11]Ref. YK, Appendix I, Hex. 12.

[12]Referring to the fourth divided line of hexagram 11, T'ai, which is just beyond the central division of the hexagram.

4.1.2 A Universe Which Is Running Down

It was asked, "The average age of modern people is shorter than that of the ancients, has this to do with the natural law of thriving and declining?"

He said, "The revolvement of periods of thriving and declining is always difficult to understand. Take history as a whole we may say that the period of the Two Emperors and Three Kings[13] represents the period of thriving, while all later dynasties represent that of decline. Speaking of the revolvement within a dynasty, the kings Wen, Wu, Ch'eng, K'ang were in the thriving phase, while the kings Yu, Li, P'ing, Huan were in the declining phase.[14] In the case of the reign of one emperor, the K'ai Yüan period (713–741 A.D.) of Emperor Hsüan Tsung of the T'ang Dynasty may be called the thriving one, while the T'ien Pao period (723–755 A.D.) may be called the declining one. In the case of the year, spring and summer are the seasons of thriving, while autumn and winter are those of decline. In the case of the month, the first half month is the thriving, the second half month is the declining. In the case of the day, the hours 3–7 a.m. are in the thriving, while the hours 7–11 p.m. are in the decline. In the case of the hour the cycle goes in a similar way. If a man lives to one hundred years of age, the first fifty years of his life are in the thriving, while the last fifty years are in the decline.

However, in some events [the cycle] goes first on the decline then it returns to a thriving again; while in others [the cycle] goes on a decline and never returns anymore. If we take the great cycle of history as a whole, we see that the Period of the Three Kings was not as prosperous as that of the Two Emperors [which preceded it], the two Han dynasties were not as prosperous as the period of the Three Kings [before them], and the later dynasties in their turn were not as prosperous as the Hans [which went before them]. It goes without saying that there were many small cycles of thriving and declining in the sweep of history we are speaking of. For instance after the Three Dynasties had declined, the Han Dynasty throve. When Han in turn declined, Wei Dynasty throve. These are instances of thriving after declining. It works in the same way as in the case of the moon waxing again after waning to the point of total darkness, or in the case of the seasons coming back after going away. But when we consider the grand cycle of the universe, taking it as a whole, we seem to find it in a steady and gradual decline all the time. It is like a man who lives to one hundred years of age; every single day which he lives will mean one day shorter in his life, even if it be the day that lapsed immediately after his birth. His body will grow day by day, but all the same the number of his remaining days will be diminishing."—*IS, XVIII, 13b: 13–14a: 9.

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[13]Yao and Shun, mythical emperors, accessions 2356 and 2255 B.C. respectively. The three kings are Yü, 2205 B.C.; T'ang, 1766 B.C.; and Wen-and-Wu counted as one. King Wu's accession was in 1122 B.C. according to tradition. These five are taken to represent the dynasties of T'ang, Yü, Hsia, Shang, and Chou.

[14]Accession of King Ch'eng, 1115 B.C.; K'ang, 1078; Yu, 781; Li, 878; P'ing, 770; and Huan, 719. All these were kings of the Chou Dynasty 1122–222 B.C.

4.2 The Law of Cause and Effect in History

4.2.1 Cause and Effect Operate as a Law and Not by the Direct Activity of a Personal God

"When Ts'ao Pin was laying siege to the city of Chin Ling and was on the verge of capturing it, he suddenly feigned illness and ceased attending to business. All the generals came to inquire after his illness. Ts'ao Pin said, 'My illness is not such as can be cured by medicine. The only thing that can cure it is that you will all with your true hearts swear that when the city is captured you will not kill any single person without reason.' The generals made promises, burned incense and took oaths. The next day he was better. And when Chin Ling was captured all the people in the city dwelt in undisturbed security as usual.

"When Ts'ao Han captured Chiang Chou, being furious that the city had put up a long resistance, he slaughtered every single soul. The descendants of Ts'ao Pin are honourable and prosperous even to the present day; but those of Ts'ao Han are otherwise. Within thirty years of the latter's death some of them had already become beggars abroad."—ICWC, App. 4b: 8–12.

T'ang Ti[15] asked for an interpretation of the belief that Heaven blesses the good and inflicts calamity on the evil. He said, "This is but natural law. Being good one receives blessing. Being evil one gets calamity."

T'ang Ti asked again, "What about the Tao of Heaven? What has it to do here in this question?"

He said, "It is nothing but Li. Li is the Tao of Heaven. When for instance one speaks of the 'wrath of Heaven', it is not that some person is there getting angry in the heaven. It is simply Li."—IS, XXII A, 9b: 13f.

"The Ch'in Dynasty (221–207 B.C.) perished because of its tyranny and of the burning books.[16] When Han rose in its place and took warning from its evil practices, it (the Han Dynasty) was bound [by a dialectical necessity] to esteem the spirit of liberality. The respect it paid to specialists in the techniques of the scriptures gave rise to a host of scholars. When scholars were many, even though they did not know the learning of the sages, yet there were many among them who honoured the classics, imitated the ancient times, and understood moral principles. Therefore during Wang Mang's usurpation[17] many scholars were able to maintain their fidelity to principle [by refusing to collaborate]. When Emperor Kuang Wu[18] arose in his stead, he could not but encourage the love of reputation

[15]Recorder of IS, XXII A.

[16]"Books", lit. "the *Odes* and the *History*". It is thus expressed for style but actually he meant "books".

[17]B.C. 9–A.D. 23.

[18]A.D. 25–57.

and fidelity to principle.[19] Therefore scholars of Eastern Han[20] were known for their love of reputation and their fidelity to principle. However, these latter must be conditioned by ritual regulations,[21] else they are likely to be carried to the point of self-mortification. That is why many of these scholars were ready to face death as a going home. The self-mortifying fidelity to principle having thus been carried to the limit scholars of the Wei Chin period[22] consequently swung to the other extreme. They became loose and lax, being fond of high-sounding talks and frivolous discussions, and neglecting all rules of propriety. When rules of propriety were forgotten, life sank to the level of the barbarians. Hence, the setting up of the Tartar kingdoms in North China.[23] When the chaos caused by the barbarian invasions reached its extreme limit, there were bound to be great heroes who appeared on the scene to bring peace and restore order. Therefore we have the Sui and T'ang dynasties which reunited the empire. Sui could not be said to have fully possessed the empire. It was merely able to drive out the barbarians. T'ang possessed the empire in the full sense of the word. However, in the T'ang dynasty, even in such periods as K'ai Yüan and T'ien Pao which were known for peace and order, the influence of the barbarians was still seen. The three cardinal bonds of relationship[24] were not properly maintained. The distinctions between father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife were lost. All this can be traced back to [the evil example of the Emperor] T'ai Tsung.[25] That was why all the juniors among his descendants were disobedient. The Emperor Hsüan Tsung[26] had barely given orders when his son, the Emperor Su Tsung[27] usurped the throne. Su Tsung had barely given orders when Lin, Prince of Yung, rebelled. The rulers did not live up to the reality of being rulers, and the ministers did not live up to the reality of being ministers. That was why governors[28] were not submissive and powerful ministers were recalcitrant. Further deterioration in this direction brought in the chaotic period of the Five Dynasties.[29] The government of the Han Dynasty was superior to

[19]There virtues were encouraged because they stood in contrast with the care for personal safety and worldly gains, and the sacrifice of moral principles for the sake of these latter.

[20]A.D. 25–219.

[21]The word which is usually translated propriety is extremely rich in meaning as it has received so many interpretations in the history of its development. Here I believe Ch'eng I had in mind specially the interpretation by the School of Hsün Tzu in the Li Ki, with a particular emphasis on the point that ritual regulations are meant to be moderate and reasonable as well as graceful outlets for strong emotions.

[22]220–419 A.D.

[23]304–439 A.D.

[24]The San Kang, namely, the father as the head of the son, the ruler as the head of the minister, and the husband as the head of the wife.

[25]627–649 A.D.

[26]627–649 A.D.

[27]627–649 A.D.

[28]Fan Chen, governors with both civil and military powers, special to T'ang Dynasty.

[29]Wu Tai, the Five Dynasties, 907–959.

the T'ang. In Han essential [ethical] issues were set right. In T'ang numerous secondary matters were taken up. In the present dynasty essential issues have been put right, but the secondary matters have not all been taken up."—IS, XVIII, 40b: 2–11.

4.2.2 Man's Ability to Control the Operation of the Law

"The retribution of Heaven is like the shadow that follows after a form, or the echo that follows after a sound. The norm is that a deed is followed by its due retribution. It is abnormal when it is not. After careful consideration I am inclined to think that there must be retribution. Only on the basis of superficial observation can a man say that this retribution is irregular and variable. It is true that Heaven's ordinance cannot be changed. Nevertheless, sometimes it can, though only by men of great virtue; for instance, the increase of years by physical culture, the prolongation of the length of the reigning royal house by praying to Heaven, and an ordinary man's perfecting himself to the level of a sage or worthy; all these illustrate what I mean."—#IS, XV, 14a: 6–10. of. IS, XIX, 12b: 6–8.

Ch'en Kuei-i asked, "Is it possible to change man's [appointed] number of years?"

He said, "It seems so."

I (T'ang Ti, the Recorder) asked, "Do you mean by physical culture such as is practiced by some modern men?"

He said, "Yes, but it is very difficult. There are three things in which it is possible for man to conquer nature (lit. the power of the creative process of the universe), but which are extremely difficult, namely, to extend the appointed time limit of the reigning royal house by praying to Heaven, to prolong one's own life by physical culture, and to attain sagehood by learning. These three equally require effort. It seems clearly possible that human power can prevail against nature, but man does not try it."—IS, XXII A, 10b: 8–11.

4.3 The Mysterious Phase of History: Fate

4.3.1 The Uninterpretable in History

Asked about the difference between Fate and luck, the Master said, "When a person is lucky or unlucky, that is Fate."

The questioner said, "In the Battle of Ch'ang P'ing, 400,000 men died all at once, could they be all under one and the same Fate?"[30]

The Master said, "This is also Fate. The very fact that they encountered Pei Ch'i means that their Fate was to be so. Now all these soldiers of Chao belonged to the same state. But it can also happen that people from the five lakes and the four sea die at the same time and in the same place."

Again it was asked, "Sometimes a person who should be punished for his crime becomes a king; sometimes one who is a prime minister dies of starvation; some sink from high social ranks to low ones, and some rise from low social ranks to high ones; can all this sort of thing be called Fate?"

He said, "All is Fate. Since it is called Fate, it is natural to expect all these different kinds of things to happen: there is nothing surprising."—IS. XVIII, 17a: 1–5.

"Whenever the Master (Ch'eng) read a history book, he would close up the book when he was half through and think, and calculate as to whether the matter dealt with was going to be a success or failure. After doing that he would proceed to read on. If what he calculated did not fit in with the actual facts, then he would think it over carefully. By this method of procedure he would discover that in the realm of history many persons or events met with success by sheer luck, others encountered failure by having no luck. People generally hold that a person or thing which meets with success is right, and that which meets with failure is wrong. They do not know that among the successful there are assuredly those who are in the wrong, and among the unsuccessful there are assuredly those who are in the right."—IS, XIX, 9a: 4–6.

4.3.2 Fate Is Ch'i

It was asked, "In ancient times most people lived to a very old age. Why is it that people of later generations do not live as long? Has it anything to do with the energies?"

He said, "The energies are Fate."—IS, XVIII, 13b: 13.

"A man of virtue deserves heavenly protection. But in actual experience such men there are who have been seen to suffer from poverty, ill health, premature death, even to the extremity of having no posterity. What Heaven's purpose is [we do not know]. What is obvious is this: that the energies which are condensed to make these worthy men are not always perfect."—#IS, XV, 6b: 1–2.

[30]This refers to a famous battle in the era of the Contending States (403–221 B.C.) in which the famous general Pei Ch'i of Ch'in defeated the armies of Chao in the town of Ch'ang P'ing, and buried alive 400,000 surrendered soldiers. This historical site is located by tradition in a place to the northwest of the modern city of Kao P'ing in Shanai Province.

4.3.3 Man's Right Attitude Towards Fate

"Confucius had known that Huan T'ui of Sung was not going to harm him, yet he went through Sung territory in disguise. Shun [before he was emperor] had seen the intention of his brother Hsiang to kill him, yet he was sad when Hsiang was sad, and was happy when Hsiang was happy. The length of a reigning house is predestined by [Heaven's] appointment, yet some rulers were nevertheless anxiously trying to achieve good government. Yü and Chi [the ministers of water conservancy and agriculture under Shun] in their efforts to save the people from floods and starvation were so intent upon their duties that they did not even stop in when they passed by their own homes. They were not unaware that deaths from floods and starvation were governed by Fate. Nevertheless they were ever urgent in trying to save lives—In all these cases one wonders what the reasons were. The way to find an answer is to keep in mind the paradoxical nature of moral truth."—IS, XVIII, 20a: 13–20b: 3.

It was asked, "For a man to be rich or poor, of high rank or low, and to live long or die young, there is certainly an appointed lot. But the man of honour must first do all that is within his power [in shaping his fortune] before he could call such experiences his lot. If he has not done this, then the fact that he should become poor or of low rank or that he should die young is but the working of natural law. And if he while neglecting his own part should get rich, become high in rank, or live long, it is sheer luck, it cannot be called his lot. Is that right?"

He said, "Even though it is true that in such a case we may not call it lot, yet richness and poverty, high rank or low rank, long life or early death, these are also foreordained. Mencius said, 'When we get by our seeking and lose by our neglecting; in that case seeking is of use to getting, and the things sought for are those which are in ourselves. When the seeking is according to the proper course, and the getting is only as appointed; in that case the seeking is of no use to getting, and the things sought are without ourselves'.[31] Therefore the man of honour accommodates lot to righteousness, while the small man accommodates righteousness to lot."—IS, XXIII, 2a: 12–2b: 3.

When Han Wei[32] was talking to the Master Ch'eng, he sighed and said, "The evening is come!"
The Master Ch'eng answered and said, "Why, this is but the normal course of nature. It has always been so. Why do you sigh?"
Han Wei said, "It will soon be time for the old man to go away."[33]
The Master said, "Please don't go away."
Han Wei said, "how can I not go?"

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[31] *Mencius*, VII, I, III.

[32] Han Wei, styled Ch'in-kuo (1017–1098), was a Tutor to the Prince, and a great friend of the Ch'eng brothers. He died at the age of 82.

[33] Note the play on the double meaning of the word "go" all through.

The Master said, "If you can't, then you will please go."—IS, XXI A, 4b: 12–13.

"A gentleman in the time of distress, having done everything within his power by way of precaution, is yet unable to avoid disasters, then this is Fate. At such a time he must conclude that it is his Fate and go ahead to achieve his purpose. When he knows that it is a matter of Fate, then no distress nor misfortune can disturb him. He will go on to do what is right. But if a person does not understand the meaning of Fate, then being fearful of danger, and discouraged by misery, he will give up his conviction. Consequently how can he accomplish his purpose of doing what is good?"—#IC, IV, 2a: 1–3. (YK, App. II, Hex. 47).

"He who talks about Fate tries to accommodate righteousness to Fate. But he who is determined to follow out righteousness cares no more about Fate. A person who accommodates righteousness to Fate is not a follower of Li."—ICWC, IV, 7b: 2.

It was asked, "When a man is poor and his parents told he is forced to attend civil examinations and seek an official position [for financial reasons]. But in so doing it is natural for him to be worried about the uncertainty of success and failure. How can one cultivate oneself in order to be free from such worries?"

He said, "This is a matter of the will not dominating over the passion. If the will dominates, there will naturally be no such worries. When one is without means and one's parents old, one is obliged to look for a paid job in some civil service. But whether one gets it is a matter of Fate. Confucius said, 'Without an understanding of Fate one cannot be a gentleman'.[34] If a man does not have an adequate conception of Fate, when he is confronted with any trouble, he is sure to flee away from it, faced with the uncertainty of success and failure he is bound to be stirred, and seeing any profit or wealth it is certain he will hasten after it. How can such a person be a gentleman?

"However, when the sage taught about Fate, he was intending it only for the average man, and those immediately above him, but not for those who are really intelligent. The average man and those immediately above him cannot but be worried over successes and failures, therefore they need the doctrine of Fate in order to keep calm. But the really wise man does not talk about Fate. He simply rests contented in what is right. Even though it be sure he will get what he wants if he seeks for it, he will refuse to seek for it unless it is the right thing to do. This is the way of those who are contented with [the appointment of] Heaven. Thus the really wise man rests contented in what is right. The average man and those above him rest contented in Fate. As to those who having been taught about Fate are yet unable to rest contented with their lot, they are of the worst sort."—IS, XVIII, 9b: 6–13.

[34]Analects, XX, III. Legge was right in rendering "ordinances" instead of "Fate". But here "Fate" is what Ch'eng I understood it to mean.

Chapter 5
His Idea of Man

Man has always enjoyed a central position in the Confucian system. Confucius (551–479 B.C.) made the achievement of perfect manhood the very core of his teaching. For Mencius (372?–289? B.C.), the doctrine of the goodness of human nature raised him to a glorious height. The writers of Appendices III and V of the *Book of Changes*[1] ranked man with Heaven and Earth and called them the "three powers". Author B of the *Doctrine of the Mean* followed the thought of Mencius and maintained that human nature was what Heaven conferred upon man. He also believed that it was man's Heaven-ordained mission to assist the creative process of Heaven and Earth by fulfilling his own nature and the natures of all creatures and things so that with Heaven and Earth he might form a triad. A little later, Tung Chung-shu (fl. c. 179–104 B.C.), following the same trend, developed the idea of man as a microcosm and declared that Heaven is man's great grandfather.

In Ch'eng I's idea of man, all this tradition was taken for granted. We have seen how he believed that man stands at the head of all creation by being made out of the finest of the energies, that among all creatures and things, he alone is conscious of the Li within him and is able to stand in rebellion against it, and that because of his moral consciousness, his actions, when they go out of harmony with Li, are able to affect the normal course of nature. Here in the material quoted below, we shall also see how, echoing the teachings of the ancients, he emphasized the idea of man's place as an assistant to Heaven and Earth.

But nothing in Ch'eng I's thought shows better the dignity of man than his development of Mencius' doctrine of human nature. According to the latter, human nature is essentially good. Because in every person are to be found heavenly seedlings which represent the moral nature of Heaven. They are four in number, namely benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. They are present in all people irrespective of birth, class, position, or education. Like little seedlings of nature they can be choked or maltreated so that they wither away. Or they can be

[1]YK, App. III, II, X, 63; App. V, II, 4.

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cultivated and developed so that they become great and strong. When the seedlings are well taken care of, the man becomes a great moral personality.

Mencius also believed that there are two types of personality. There is firstly the type of the sage, who attains perfect manhood by simply following the tendencies of his inward nature in an easy and leisurely way. But there is the other type to which belong all ordinary people, whose path to perfect manhood is more difficult and who have to struggle constantly in order to "return" to their inward nature. Nevertheless, the possibility of becoming a perfect man is absolutely assured to everyone who is willing to make the effort. Because from the point of view of Li, all men are born equal. All are equally endowed with the seedlings of good virtue from Heaven.

More than thirteen centuries, however, had elapsed since the death of Mencius (d. cir. 289 B.C.). During that time, many changes had taken place in the world of Chinese thought, chief of which was the introduction of Buddhism from India. Therefore, while he was following the general framework of Mencius' teaching about man, Ch'eng I found himself obliged to make certain adaptations. In the first place, his brother Ch'eng Hao had developed the doctrine that Jen or benevolence is the essential character of Heaven and Earth. In accordance with this, Ch'eng I said that although Jen is one of the four heavenly seedlings, yet in a sense it can be thought of as including all the others. Another obvious adaptation he had to make was in connection with the conception of Li which he and his brother had been developing. If there is a Li in everything, and if the Li of a thing is the Heaven-ordained rationale and end of the thing, then it is perfectly clear that the Li of man is none other than the nature of man about which Mencius had taught. Human nature, then, is Li. Li is what makes a man man. Hence, the fulfilment of Li in man is equal to the fulfilment of human nature and the attainment of perfect manhood.

But by far, the greatest effort Ch'eng I had to make in response to the changed situation was to deal with the Buddhist concept of the Universal Mind from the Confucian point of view. This we shall take up in the third section of the present chapter.

In the teaching about the goodness of human nature, there is yet another problem which Ch'eng I had to tackle, namely the problem of the origin of evil. If as Mencius and Ch'eng I himself had taught, human nature is essentially good, how can there be evil at all? How is the existence of wickedness in man to be explained? In trying to deal with this question, Mencius had ascribed evil to the negligence of the cultivation of the heavenly seedlings of virtue in man, and also to the injuries done to them by unfavourable environment.[2] Ch'eng I went a step further and traced the origin of evil to Ch'i in man's "physical nature". Like all creatures and things in the universe, man is made of Li and Ch'i. Li is of Heaven. It is invariably good and cannot be otherwise. The Ch'i or energies are matter. They vary in quality. Some are pure; others are cloudy. A man who is endowed with energies of

[2]*Mencius*, VI, I, VI–VIII, esp. VIII, 2.

the purest kind will be a wise man of the highest class or a sage. One who is endowed with relatively pure energies will be an ordinary wise man or a worthy. He who is endowed with cloudy energies will be a stupid man. From this theory, it will be seen that there are two phases of human nature: the heavenly and the physical. The heavenly nature is rooted in the spiritual endowments and is good. The physical nature is rooted in the physical material of which man is made, and is the source from which evil originates.

However, the influence must not be drawn that physical nature is the cause of evil, and that therefore man is relieved of moral responsibility. Far from it, according to Ch'eng I, physical nature is only material. As material, it may be of higher or lower qualities. Material of high qualities makes it easier for man to be good. Material of lower qualities makes it easier for man to do evil. But after all, it is man who makes use of the material. The choice of becoming good or evil rests with man and not with material. If man chooses to be good, he can turn a bad material to serve a good purpose. If he chooses to be wicked, he can turn a perfectly good material to serve his wicked end.

"When a learner is conquered by his vital energy, or carried off by habits, he can only blame his own will."—#IS, XV, 10a: 6.

But as far as possibilities are concerned, every man can become a perfect man if he wants to, as has already been said, no matter of what kind of material he is made.

5.1 The Place of Man in the Universe

"The gentleman, living in the prosperity and abundance of the time of "Ta Yu",[3] should 'act for Heaven in its work'[4] of governing and nourishing the people."—*IC, I, 51b: 4–5. (YK, App. II, Hex. 14).

Li Ch'u-tun (Chia-chung) asked for an explanation of the passage: "[The sage sovereign] fashions and completes the courses of Heaven and Earth, and assists their affairs".[5]

He said, "It is not the way of Heaven and Earth to bring their own works to completion. They need the sages to assist and complete them. For instance there are four seasons in the year. In the spring the sage teaches the people to sow seeds and to plant; in the autumn he teaches the people to harvest: this is to 'fashion and complete'. To teach the people to cultivate and irrigate the land, that is to 'assist'."—IS, XXII A, 3a: 6–8.

"The expression 'to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth' was made from the point of view of man. [The full text of this passage reads]: 'It is only he who is most true to himself who can fulfill his nature. Able to

[3]Ta Yu is the name of Hex. 14, and means Great Havings.

[4]*Shu King*, II, III, 2. "The work is Heaven's; men must act for it".

[5]YK, App. II, Hex. 11.

fulfill his own nature, he can fulfill the natures of other men. Able to fulfill the natures of other men, he can fulfill the natures of animals and things. Able to fulfill the natures of creatures and things, he can assist transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth. Able to assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and Earth, he may with Heaven and Earth form a triad'.[6] It tells us that when a man is able to fulfill the natures, he can have such an accomplishment. In the case of 'he who is most true to himself' (namely, the sage) the possibility of accomplishment is even more obvious.

"The expressions 'man is the mind of heaven and earth',[7] and 'Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see'[8] simply mean that the same Li operates in all. As to the specific functions of Heaven and man, they are different."—#IS, XV, 12a: 12–12b: 1.

5.2 The Nature of Man

5.2.1 Human Nature Is Good

"What Heaven endows is ordinance. What creatures and things receive is their nature."—*IC, I, 2b: 9.

"Man is a being who holds his position between Heaven and Earth, and who stands above all creatures and things. With him Heaven and Earth participate in the same essential nature [lit. substance]. With him all creatures and things participate in the same cosmic energies."—"Preface to the *Li Ki*", *ICWC, App. 1b: 2.

"From the store of essences of Heaven and Earth, man alone obtains the cream of the five elements. His intrinsic nature is pure and still. In its unstirred state it is complete with the five constant virtues, namely, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and good faith. After taking up the bodily form, the mind (lit. the chung) is moved by contact with external things. When the mind is moved, the seven passions are produced. These are pleasure, anger, sorrow, joy, love, hate, and lust. When the passions are ablaze and grow more and more dissolute, man's nature becomes unrestrained."—#ICWC, IV, la: 6–8 (c. 1052 A.D.).

T'ang Ti asked, "How is it that Confucius and Mencius spoke differently about human nature?"

He said, "When Mencius spoke about the goodness of human nature he was referring to the intrinsic character of human nature. When Confucius remarked that 'in natural disposition they are similar' he was referring to the fact that the physical endowment of one man is not much different from that of another. The nature of all

[6]In the original text, this passage was abridged. Here for the convenience of the reader, it is given in full.—*Doctrine of the Mean*, XXII.

[7]The reference for this expression is not yet found.

[8]*Shu King*, II, III, 3.

men is good. That by which the nature is good may be found in the 'four heavenly seedlings'.[9] That was why Mencius [when he was speaking about man degrading himself to a state not far from the beast's] asked, 'Is this the true nature of man?'[10] But when man does not follow out his nature but acts contrary to the heavenly Li, then he will drift into the state of evil. Therefore Mencius said again, 'If man follows his original nature, he will be good!'[11]"—IS, XXII A, 10b: 12–11a: 2. Cf. XVIII, 19b:1–7; XIX, 4b: 11.

"The mind is originally good. But when it is stirred into a thinking process, it can either be good or evil. But such stirred mental state should be called ch'ing, or feeling, and should not be called the mind. By way of illustration, water may only be called 'water'. But when it flows to form a stream, branching off eastward and westward, it is then called as a 'stream'."—IS, XVIII, 17a: 11–13.

5.2.2 *The Heavenly Seedlings in Human Nature*

Someone asked about the meaning of the saying: "Filial piety and fraternal love: are these qualities not the root of all benevolent actions?"…[12]

He said, "…The passage means that the practice of benevolent actions should begin with filial piety and fraternal love. For filial piety and fraternal love are actions of benevolence. Therefore it is right to interpret the expression as meaning 'the root of benevolent actions'; it is not right to interpret it as meaning 'the root of benevolence'. For benevolence is part of human nature, while filial piety and fraternal love are functions. In human nature there are only the four [heavenly seedlings], namely, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom. How could there ever have been included the qualities of filial piety and fraternal love? The main expression of benevolence is love. No love is greater than love for members of the family. Therefore [Confucius] said, 'Filial piety and fraternal love are the root of all benevolent actions'."—IS, XVIII, 1b: 8–11.

Asked about Jen, he said, "This you will have to work out for yourselves. You can comprehend its meaning by gathering together all that the sages and worthies taught about Jen, classifying them, and pondering over them."

"Mencius said that the feeling of commiseration is Jen.[13] Later scholars have therefore taken love to be the meaning of Jen. It is true that the feeling of commiseration is love. But love is feeling, while Jen on the other hand pertains to [the totality] of human nature. How can we speak specifically of love as Jen? Mencius said that the feeling of commiseration is Jen, apparently because he had said

[9] *Mencius*, II, I, VI, 5. For explanation, see the introductory part of the present chapter.

[10] *Mencius*, VI, I, VIII, 2.

[11] Ibid., VI, I, VI, 5. The word ch'ing here is more rightly rendered "nature" than "feeling".

[12] This is a saying by Confucius.—*Analects*, I, II, 2.

[13] *Mencius*, VI, I, VI, 7.

previously that the feeling of commiseration is the seedling of Jen.[14] Since it is called the 'seedling of Jen', it is therefore not identical with 'Jen'. Han Yü (768–824 A.D.) was mistaken in saying that universal love is Jen. It is true that a man of Jen will naturally have [the virtue of] universal love. But one may not therefore say that universal love is Jen."—IS, XVIII, la: 3–7. (cf. XXI B, 2a: 1–3.—Class C).

"…just as Jen among the five constant virtues,[15] when it is referred to as a part, it is only one of the five; but when it is spoken of as a whole, it includes all the rest."—*IC, I, 2b: 4.

"Jen is the Tao, the principal of all good [virtues]. When a man is able to learn the Tao, Jen is included therein."—IS, XXII A, 5a: 6–7.

[It was asked], "Is righteousness only seen in action?"

He said, "No. It is always there in human nature."

Someone said, "But it has no visible appearance which one can see."

He said, "When one affirms that it is there, it is as good as saying that one can see it. Even though [physical eyes] cannot see it, it is clearly there in the universe. Just as in the case of human nature, it is not necessary to wait for a physical entity in order to call it human nature: human nature is always there. What you mean by that which we see is things that happen. What I mean by that which we see is the Li."—IS, XVIII, 3a: 9–11.

5.2.3 *Human Nature Is Li*

T'ang Ti asked him again about human nature. He said, "Human nature is Li; it is what we call 'Li Hsing' or the rational nature. The Li of all creatures and things in this world of our experience, when it is traced to its source, will be found good without exception. The passions joy, anger, grief, pleasure, in their unawakened state, are they ever found to be not good? 'When these passions are stirred and each and all attain due measure and degree'[16] then there is nothing but good. Whenever we speak of good and evil, good always precedes evil. Whenever we speak of good and bad luck, good luck always precedes bad luck. Whenever we speak of right and wrong, right always precedes wrong."—IS, XXII A, 11a: 9–11.

"Human nature is good without exception…. Human nature is Li. Being Li it is invariably one and the same in all men, be they [the sage-emperors] Yao and Shun or ordinary men on the street."—IS, XVIII, 17b: 7–8. (Cf. IS, XXIV, 2a: 9–10.—Class C material).

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[14] *Mencius*, II, I, VI, 5.

[15] The five constant virtues consist of Jen or benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and good faith.

[16] *Doctirne of the Mean*, I.

"[Mencius said, 'Our shape and hue are the nature given us by Heaven.] None but the sage can fulfill the inherent intentions of his given shape.'[17] What Mencius was referring to here was the fulfillment of true manhood. Man is born with the pure energies of Heaven and Earth. He is different from all other creatures and things. Therefore a man, being what he is, ought to fulfill the Li of man. The ordinary man possesses this Li without knowing it. The worthy man tries to realize it but is not quite able to do so. Therefore none but the sage can really 'fulfill the inherent intentions of his given shape'."—IS, XVIII, 22b: 10–11.

5.2.4 *Psychological Explanation of the Origin of Evil*

Someone asked, "Do feelings like pleasure and anger come forth from human nature?"

He said, "Yes, the minute one has life and consciousness, he has human nature. When one has human nature, he has feelings. Without human nature how can there be feelings?"

Again it was asked whether feelings like pleasure and anger come from without. He said, "They do not come from without. They are acted on from without but come forth from within."

It was asked whether the presence of feelings such as pleasure and anger in human nature is analogous to the presence of waves on water. He said, "Yes. It is the nature of water to be clear and still like the surface of the mirror. But when it flows against rocks or over an uneven place, then there is a torrent. Or when wind blows over it, then it is turned into boisterous waves. How can this be the original nature of water? In human nature there are only the four heavenly seedlings.[18] None of the many evil things can be found there. However, without water how can there be waves? Without human nature how can there be feelings?"—IS, XVIII, 17b: 1–5.

It was asked, "Human nature is originally clear, wherefore is it clouded?"

He said, "This is something which you need to seek to comprehend, namely, Mencius' teaching about the goodness of human nature. Great scholars though Hsün Tzu and Yang Hsiüng (B.C. 53–18) be, not even they understood human nature properly. That by which Mencius distinguished himself among Confucian scholars is his doctrine of human nature. Human nature is always good. When it is evil, it is due to the powers.[19] Human nature is the Li or rationale [of man]. The Li which is in [the sage-emperors] Yao and Shun and the Li which is in the people on

[17] *Mencius*, VII, I, XXXVIII.

[18] That of benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. See *Mencius*, II, I, VI, 5.

[19] The word ts'ai has the double connotation of talent and material. Here it is used in the latter sense. Legge's rendering into "power" is, it seems to me, the nearest word we could get.—See *Mencius*, VI, I, VIII, 2. Ref. IS, XVIII, 19b: 9.

the street are one and the same. The powers are derived from [cosmic] energies. Some energies are pure and some are cloudy. He who derives his powers from the pure energies becomes a wise man. He who derives his powers from the cloudy energies becomes a stupid man."—IS, XVIII, 17b: 6–9.

T'ang Ti asked again, "Are the [psychological] powers [of a man] derived from [cosmic] energies?"

He said, "Yes. When the energies are pure, the powers are good. When the energies are cloudy, the powers are evil. He who derives [his] powers from the purest energies becomes a sage. He who derives them from the most cloudy energies becomes a wicked man…. But here we are referring to the kind of sage who understands by intuition (lit. who understands from birth, meaning that he is born well). As to the kind of sage who understands by learning, then no matter whether the energies [from which he derives his powers] be pure or cloudy, he will be able to attain to the good and return to the original state of his nature [which is goodness]. The expression 'Yao and Shun were what they were by nature'[20] refers to [the category of sages who] understand by intuitive knowledge. The expression 'T'ang and Wu were so by returning to natural virtue'[21] refers to [the category of the man who] understands by learning….

"The powers are the material with which a man is endowed. If he cultivates them by following his [good] nature, he is sure to conquer them and attain to the good no matter how evil they may be."—IS, XXII A, 11a: 2–5, 8–9.

[Someone asked, "Confucius said], 'By nature men are nearly alike; by practice they get to be wide apart';[22] human nature is the same in all men, why did he say that by nature men are nearly alike?"

He said, "Here he was referring to the 'physical nature'…. Whenever the word 'nature' is mentioned one must first find out what it is intended to mean. For instance, in saying that human nature is good,[23] one is referring to the essential character of the nature; in saying that 'what a man is born with is nature'[24] one is referring to the physical endowment. When Confucius said that by nature men are nearly alike, he was referring to the physical endowment. With regard to the essential character of human nature, how can it be said to be 'nearly like'?"—IS, XVIII, 19b: 1, 5–7. Cf. XIX, 4b: 1; XXII A, 10b: 12f.

"[Human] nature has its source in Heaven. The powers have their sources in the cosmic energies. When the energies are pure, the powers are pure. When the energies are cloudy, the powers are cloudy. Take a piece of wood for illustration: when we speak of its being crooked or straight, we are referring to its nature. When we say that this may serve as a beam or a rafter, we are referring to it as material

[20] *Mencius*, VII, II, XXX.
[21] Ibid.
[22] *Analects*, XVII, II.
[23] *Mencius*, III, I, I, 2.
[24] *Mencius*, VI, I, III, 1.

[which in the case of man is the powers]. The powers may be good or evil, whereas human nature is always good."— IS, XIX, 4b: 3–4.

5.2.5 *Can Human Nature Be Changed?*

"[When Confucius said] 'There are only the wise of the highest class and the stupid of the lowest class who cannot be changed,'[25] he did not mean that the stupid cannot be changed. However, there is a reason for his not being changeable. The reason why he becomes unchangeable is twofold: namely, that he chooses to 'do violence to himself' and to 'throw himself away',[26] which causes him to be unwilling to learn. If he is only willing to learn, and stop doing violence to himself and throwing himself away, there is no reason why he cannot be changed."—IS, XIX, 4b: 4–6. Cf. XVIII, 17b: 9–12; XXII A, 11a: 5–6.

"It may be asked that if human nature is essentially good, why is it that there are ['the stupid of the lowest class'] who 'cannot be changed'?[27] The answer is that with reference to [human] nature, all are good. With reference to the powers, there are the stupid of the lowest class who cannot be changed. The so called stupid of the lowest class act in a twofold way: they 'do violence to themselves', and they 'throw themselves away'.[28] If a man regulated himself according to what is good, he could always be changed. Even if he be dull and stupid in the extreme, it is always possible for him to improve by gradual cultivation (lit. polishing). Only the self-harming person resists what is good by refusing to believe in it, and the self-abandoned person rejects what is good by refusing to do it, so that even if a sage should live with him, no influence could penetrate and work any change in him. This is what Confucius termed the stupid of the lowest class. However, all the self-harming and self-abandoned persons in the world are not necessarily dull and foolish. Often they are strong and cunning with greater talents and abilities than those of an ordinary man…. The sage calls him the stupid of the lowest class simply because he cuts himself off from what is good. However, when one considers his end, one finds that he is stupid indeed.

"But if such a person is called the stupid of the lowest class, why is it that he is able to 'change his countenance?'[29] The answer to this is that although his mind is cut off from what is good, yet like all men he is afraid of the terrors of Heaven and will at such a time try to diminish his sins. It is exactly because he has something in common with all other men that we know that the fact of his stupidity is not to be blamed on his nature."—*IC, IV, 11b: 11–12a: 4. (YK, Hex. 49: 6).

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[25] *Analects*, XVII, III.

[26] *Mencius*, IV, I, X, 1.

[27] See Footnote 25.

[28] See Footnote 26.

[29] YK, Hex. 49, text of the sixth divided line, on which Ch'eng I is here commenting.

5.3 Human Nature and the Universal Mind

5.3.1 The Relation of the Ch'eng Brothers to Buddhism

In his "Description of the Deeds of the Master Ming Tao",[30] Ch'eng I has told us of his brother Ch'eng Hao's experience in the quest for truth. He said that from about the age of fifteen or sixteen when he (the brother) heard about the Tao from Chou Tun-i, he began to feel disinclined towards civil examinations. He set his purpose to search for the Tao, but he did not know the essential way to find it. Therefore, he drifted from one school of thought to another. For almost ten years, he studied Taoism and Buddhism. Then he returned to look for the Tao in the six [canonical] classics where he found it. It is clear from this that Ch'eng Hao definitely spent a long period of time studying Buddhism. But whether Ch'eng I ever pursued the same line of study or not we are not certain. There were rumours that Ch'eng I made enquiries from a certain Buddhist monk and derived his ideas from him. But Chu Hsi denied it, although he admitted that a certain aspect of Ch'eng I's teaching is similar to that of Hui-Neng, the sixth Patriarch of Ch'anism.[31]

Chu Hsi was probably right in his frank admission. For it has been the consensus of scholarly opinion since the Sung Dynasty that the teachings of the two Ch'eng brothers revealed the marked influence of Buddhism and Taoism. Yeh Shih (the Master Shui-hsin, 1150–1223), for instance, criticized the fact that the brothers attacked the two religions most severely, but in the famous "Ting Hsing Shu" or "Letter in Reply to Chang Tsai about the Stabilization of Human Nature" Ch'eng Hao depended almost entirely on the teachings of these religions without knowing it.[32] Modern scholars entertain a similar impression, although opinions are divided as to which of the two religions had the greater influence over their thoughts. Chang Ping-lin (T'ai-yen, 1868–1936) thought that the teachings of the Ch'eng brothers were nearer to Taoism than to Buddhism, although neither of them impressed him as having a deep understanding of the said religions.[33] Most other scholars, however, such as Chung-T'ai, Ch'ien Mu, and Watanabe, hold the other view and believe that the thoughts of the Ch'engs reflect mainly the influence of Ch'anism.[34] Whichever of the two views is true, it is scarcely open to question that the two brothers reflect a certain amount of Buddhist influence in their teachings. The school of Buddhism with which they came into contact was Ch'anism which was the predominant school in their time. It was so much more powerful than the other

[30]*ICWC, VII, 6a: 11f.

[31]Chu Hsi, *Chu Tzu Yü Lei*, Bk. 126. Ref. also *Chia T'ai P'u Teng Lu*, as quoted in Yang Tung-chuan, *Chung Kuo Hsüch Shu Shih Chiang Hua*, p. 257.

[32]Yeh Shih, *Hsi Hsüeh Chi Yen*, as quoted in Chung T'ai, *Chung Kuo Che Hsüeh Shih*, pp. 24–26.

[33]Chang Ping-lin, *Chang Shih Ts'ung Shu*: *Chien Lun*, Bk. 4, "T'ung Ch'eng", pp. 3b–8a.

[34]Chung T'ai, loc. cit.; Ch'ien Mu, *Kuo Hsüeh Kai Lun*, Part II, p.33; Watanabe, *A brief Introduction to the History of Chinese Philosophy*, Chinese ed., p.31.

Buddhist schools that to Ch'eng I and his contemporaries Ch'anism was almost synonymous with Buddhism.

The goal of Buddhism is nirvana. Nirvana is extremely difficult to define. But it includes at least two prominent shades of meanings. Firstly it means the blessed state of freedom from rebirth. Secondly it means an immediate foretaste of the emancipated life. If all Chinese scholars did not believe in the final state of bliss, they were at least interested in the practical offer of a delivery from worries.

Tao Sheng (died 434 A.D.) the forerunner of Ch'anism taught that Enlightenment, which is the way to nirvana, is achieved by being one with Wu (non-being) or the Universal Mind. In the subsequent developments of Ch'anism, there was a difference of opinion as to the character of the Universal Mind whether it can be comprehended by the mind or whether it can only be approached by negations. Nevertheless, the common object of their ultimate concern remained just the same, namely the Universal Mind.

Professor Fung Yu-lan said at the end of his chapter on Chinese Buddhism, "In what has been told here we can also find the germ of the Neo-Confucianism of several centuries later. The theory of Tao Sheng that every man can become a Buddha reminds us of the theory of Mencius that every man can become a Yao or Shun (two traditional sage-kings held by Confucianists as patterns of perfect manhood). Mencius also stated that by fully developing our mind, we come to know our nature; and by fully developing our nature, we come to know Heaven. But what he called mind and nature are both psychological and not metaphysical. By giving them a metaphysical interpretation along the line suggested by Tao Sheng's theory, one arrives at Neo-Confucianism.

"The idea of the Universal Mind is a contribution of India to Chinese philosophy. Before the introduction of Buddhism, there was in Chinese philosophy only the mind, but not Mind. The Tao of the Taoists is the 'mystery of mysteries', as Laotze put it, yet it is not Mind. After the period dealt with in this chapter, there is, in Chinese philosophy, not only mind, but also Mind."[35]

The relation of Buddhism in general and Ch'anism in particular to Neo-Confucianism is itself a great subject for research. But perhaps the above quotation from an historian of Chinese philosophy will give the reader a general idea as to the kind of relationship that existed between them. We have said in the Introduction that Neo-Confucianism represented the final success of the Confucian system in the assimilation of Buddhism and Taoism after feeling their impact for about one thousand years. The idea of the Universal Mind to which Prof. Fung refers may be one of the main fields in which the process of assimilation and regeneration took place, although I am not ready to accept Prof. Fung's position that what Mencius called mind and nature are both psychological and not metaphysical.

In the light of the above discussion, it would seem that Ch'eng I's teaching that "Human Nature is Li"[36] and Ch'eng Hao's teaching that "He who [possesses] Jen is

[35]Fung, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 254.

[36]See above Sects. 5.2.3 and 2.3.2.2.

one with Heaven and Earth and all things"[37] were both reflections of their reaction towards the Buddhist and Taoist teachings about the nature of reality. The Universal Mind, or Tao, or Wu, was all too abstract for the Confucian temperament. It was the Confucian genius to affirm the reality of ultimate Reality by putting moral content into it. If human nature is Li, and if the essential character of Heaven and Earth is Jen, then Reality cannot be empty, or void, or negative, or abstract. Reality must be real; and in being real must be rational, moral and intelligible.

Ch'eng I, however, was not interested in such abstract discussions. Left to his own choice, he preferred to move about in his field in the traditional Confucian manner, endeavouring to elucidate ethical principles. His discussions about Mind in the abstract sense were only in answer to questions raised by his disciples.

5.3.2 Ch'eng I's Further Discussions About Human Nature

The following quotations consist of two sets of material both concerned with the present subject, namely human nature and the Universal Mind. The first is the gist of a series of seven letters from a disciple Lü Ta-lin and replies by Ch'eng I. The second contains chiefly records of Ch'eng I's oral answers to questions raised by another disciple Su Ping, and some other disciples. Both Lü Ta-lin and Su Ping had been disciples of Chang Tsai and had come to follow Ch'eng I after Chang Tsai's death in 1077.

5.3.2.1 Correspondence with Lü Ta-Lin

Lü Ta-lin was one of those mature students from Kuan Chung about whom we spoke in the first chapter.[38] He had formulated a theory about human nature and tried in his letters to obtain an approval from Ch'eng I but without success. His theory was that "chung" is human nature. Now the term "chung" comes from Chap. 1 of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, part of which reads, "What Heaven has conferred is called the nature; an accordance with this nature is called the Tao; the regulation of the Tao is called instruction…. While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow or joy, that is 'chung'. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of harmony. This 'chung' is the great root in the world, and this harmony is the universal path."[39]

Here the word "chung" appears rather ambiguous in meaning. James Legge rendered it "the state of equilibrium", while Ku Hung-ming translated it as the

[37]IS, II A, 2a: 11; 3a: 13.

[38]Sect. 2.3.1.1.

[39]*Doctrine of the Mean*, Chap. I: 1, 4.

"central self or moral being".[40] Lü Ta-lin's idea was that the Confucian teaching about human nature was too indefinite. If he could identify human nature with "chung" which in the text just quoted was defined as the state of the mind before the feelings are stirred, then it could be grasped by a process of introspection. Moreover, if human nature was identified with the "chung", which the same text also defined as the "great root in the world," then by getting hold of the mind in its unstirred state, one was actually getting hold of the "great root" from which all moral truths came forth. He also tried to identify the "chung" with what Mencius called the "child's mind" which is pure and guileless.

Ch'eng I in his replies firmly rejected the thesis and said that "chung" is not human nature. "Chung" means not lopsided. It is a state of the mind, but not the mind itself. With regard to the child's mind, Ch'eng I said that it cannot be identified with "Chung", because a child's mind is not unstirred. It is already stirred. Its advantage over as adult's mind lies not in its being in a state of "chung", but in the fact that it is not yet far away from the "chung".

In all these discussions, one is impressed with the fact that what Lü Ta-lin was seeking was a Confucian version of a doctrine of the "Universal Mind" and a methodology of obtaining "Enlightenment". But Ch'eng I was content to hold the Confucian fort in a defensive way. He made no suggestion as to how otherwise these objectives might be attained. He seemed to think that the positive side of the answers to these questions is already contained in his teachings and that Lü Ta-lin's hypothesis was not a promising one.

"Letters to Lü Ta-lin discussing 'Chung'":

"(The complete originals of these letters have been lost. What is compiled here is based on extracts made by Lü Ta-lin—[Editor])"

(1)

"Ta-lin said, 'Chung is that from which Tao comes forth.'

"The Master said, 'The expression that chung is that from which Tao comes forth is defective.'"

(2)

"Ta-lin said, 'You have said that my statement that chung is that from which Tao comes forth is defective, I see what you mean. However, when we dwell on the points wherein they [namely, chung and Tao] are identical, we may not call them by two different names. But when we try to make a distinction between them, we may not mix them up as one and the same thing either. For instance in the sayings, "What Heaven has conferred is called the Nature, an accordance with this nature is called Tao," and "This chung is the great root from which grow all the human actings in the world, and this harmony is the universal path which they should all pursue", this "Nature" and "Tao", this "great root" and "universal path" that we find here, how can they be two separate entities?'

"The Master said, 'Chung is the Tao. If you say that the Tao comes forth from chung, then the Tao becomes something external to and distinct from chung. Your

[40]Lin Yutang, Ed., *The Wisdom of India and China*, p. 845.

expression, "In speaking of that in which they are one and the same, no second name can be admitted. But in speaking about their distinction, they are neither to be mixed up as one thing," this is well said [lit. not defective]. But to say that human nature and Tao, the great root and the universal path can be considered one is unsound. In the case of Heaven it is called ordinance (ming). In the case of man it is called [human] nature. Acting in accordance with [human] nature is what we call the Tao. The terms [human] nature, ordinance, and Tao have each their own proper object of representation. The great root represents the substance. The universal path speaks of its function. Substance and function are naturally distinct. How can they but be spoken of as two?'"

(3)

"Ta-lin said, 'If as the *Doctrine of the Mean* says, "an accordance with this nature is called Tao," then when one acts in accordance with one's own nature, it is the Tao. This is not to say that in human nature there is a Tao that exists in distinction from it. Chung is none other than [human] nature. In Heaven it is the ordinance. In man it is the nature. All that comes forth from chung is the Tao. That is why I said, chung is that from which Tao comes forth. The implication here is the same as in the saying, "An accordance with this nature is called Tao." I do not mean that in Tao there is a chung that exists in distinction from it.'

"The Master said, 'The expression "Chung is none other than [human] nature" is extremely unsound. "Chung" is that by which a state of human nature is described. For instance, we say that the heaven is round and the earth square. Can we consequently say that roundness and squareness are the heaven and the earth? Since roundness and squareness cannot be called the heaven and the earth, then all things and creatures definitely have not come forth from roundness and squareness. Similarly, if chung cannot be called human nature, how can it be said that the Tao comes forth from chung?' For apparently chung as a concept derives its name from its being neither an excess nor a falling short. If therefore chung is taken to be the same as human nature, it will be found that chung does not coincide with the connotation of the word "nature", and is naturally different in meaning from the same word in the quotation "an accordance with this nature is called Tao." Human nature and the Tao must not be spoken of as if they were one and the same thing. Chung may only be taken as describing the state of the substance [of human nature], but may not be regarded as having the same character as human nature.'

"Again he [the Master] said, 'From this it will be seen that the expression used above that "chung may not be regarded as having the same character as human nature" is not sound either. Tzu Chü[41] suggested the expression, "Chung is the character of human nature," this comes nearer to what I mean.'

"Again he [the Master] said, 'The state of not being away from the centre is called chung. The Tao is never but in the centre. Therefore chung was used to describe the Tao. If you say that the Tao comes forth from chung, do you mean that

[41]Son of Lü Ta-chün (1033–1082), another source says that this is the style of appelation of Lü I-shan. See original note in the text, *ICWC, V, 10b: 4.

we may also say that the physical world comes forth from the roundness of the heaven and the squareness of the earth, since the former is round and the latter square?'"

(4)

"Ta-lin said, 'Not being inclined to one side is called chung. The state of not being heterogeneous is called harmony (ho).'

"The Master said, 'The expression "The state of not being inclined to one side is called chung" is very good. The expression "The state of not being heterogeneous is called harmony (ho)" is not proper.'"

(5)

"Ta-lin said, '"While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy," this is the mind of the child. While there are no stirrings, the mind is extremely empty, there is nothing to which it may incline or on which it may lean. Therefore it is called chung. If one responds to all the changes of this world with such a mind, he will always be in the centre [of the path]. Mencius said, "By weighing, we know what things are light, and what heavy. By measuring, we know what things are long, and what short. The relations of all things may thus be determined, and it is of the greatest importance to estimate the motions of the mind.[42]" The reason why the mind is able to weigh all things in a way even more accurate than a weighing scale is exactly because there is nothing to which it may incline or on which it may lean. If there should be anything there, then the centre (chung) is lost, and all the measurings and weighings become inaccurate: how then can it be compared with the weighing scale or the measuring rod? Therefore the expression that the great man does not lose his child's heart[43] is the same as the expression to hold fast the Mean or centre (chung).[44],

"'When at first I saw this, I called such a mind by the name chung. Hence my precious expression that chung is that from which Tao comes forth. Now after thinking it over carefully I realize that the name I gave is not proper. The state of such a mind may be described as chung, but the mind itself may not be called by the name chung. This is what is meant by the expression that Tao may be described as chung. The saying "An accordance with this nature is called Tao"[45] means that when a person acts in accordance with his original nature all his doings will be nothing but truth and righteousness. Similarly, if one responds to the changes of all things with such a mind as has been described, all his doings will also be nothing but truth and righteousness. In both cases the substance of Tao is not referred to. For how can the substance of Tao be said to come forth from chung?' (Original note in the text: The Master was not satisfied with what has been said here.).

"The Master said, '"While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of equilibrium or chung," The child's

[42] *Mencius*, I, I, VII, 13.

[43] *Mencius*, IV, II, 12.

[44] *Shu King*, II, 2, 2, p. 50.

[45] *Doctrine of the Mean*, I.

mind is one in which there are stirrings but the stirrings are not far away from the equilibrium or chung. To call such a mind chung is not to know the great root.'"

(6)

"Ta-lin said, 'It is true that the mind of the child is not the same as that of the sage in that the sage has a knowledge which embraces all things while the child's intelligence is not at all developed. However, judging from what Mencius said,[46] did he not pick out purity [lit. unmixedness and oneness] and guilelessness of the child's mind as the aspects in which it is the same as that of a sage? I do not mean that there is not the least difference between them. In what I said in my previous letter I too was referring only to these same aspects. In this regard I have in days gone by learned what you taught about the man of honour, how that he must seek [the Tao] within himself, and that if he has achieved anything, he will find it (i.e. the achievement) in accord with the words and deeds of any previous [men of virtues] to which he may refer for comparison. Thence I proceeded and seem to have found an anchorage. Therefore I have been fully convinced [of the truth I have found] without any doubt, holding it fast less I should lose it. Now your letter came to say that I have lost the great root. It made me feel like [a sailor] losing his direction in the ocean. I am afraid my statements in the previous letters were not clear, words being unable to give expression to what I had in mind, with the result that you might not have fully understood my ideas. For this reason I am hereby making a full statement of my views for your criticism. If you could kindly tell me what you think and point out my errors, I would be very grateful.'

"'The Golden Mean or chung is the great root of the teaching of the sages. It was even used as a motto by [the sage-emperors] Yao and Shun when they handed over the government of the empire saying "may you sincerely hold fast to the Mean".[47] For the Golden Mean means neither going in excess nor falling short. But what is the norm by which to tell whether a thing is either in excess or falling short? It is to be sought in the mind. But when the mind is in the state of motion, it is in constant [actions and reactions] inward and outward. How can one keep it still for a norm? It is therefore obvious that the norm can only be sought at the time when there are "no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy". At such a time, the mind is the child's mind, the mind of Heaven and Earth, the four eschewals of Confucius,[48] the implication of what Mencius said about the importance of estimating the motions of the mind,[49] and that which was described in the *Book of Changes* as being "still and without movement, but when acted on, it penetrates forthwith all phenomena and

[46]"The great man is he who does not lose his child's heart", *Mencius*, loc. cit.

[47]*Shu King*, II, II, 2.

[48]"There were four things that the Master wholly eschewed: he took nothing for granted, he was never over-positive, never obstinate, never egoistic."—*Analects* IX, 4. Arthur Waley's tr.

[49]*Mencius*, I, I, VII, 13, quoted above.

events under the sky."[50] Whatever comes forth from this mind is purely ethical truth and that which the whole world similarly approves.[51] How can it be but harmonious? This explains why in my previous letter I ventured to call the child's mind "chung".'

"'You said in your letter that the child's mind may be said to be "harmonious" but may not be called "chung". After thinking it over I feel that the term "harmonious" refers to the state of the mind when the passions are already stirred. But what I term the child's mind refers to the state when the passions are not yet stirred. When the mind is thus pure and guileless, neither inclined in one way or another, it may be described as "chung". But if you say that the child's mind is already stirred, then I am afraid it cannot be used to describe the state of mind [I have in mind].'

"'You said in your letter that although my statement that "when a person acts in accordance with his original nature, all his doings will be nothing but truth and righteousness" is not unsound, yet it lacks the flavour of the sages.' After some reflection, I realized that the form of expression in my statement is strained. It stands in want of the air of one who is long soaked in the beauty of the teachings of the sages. I acknowledge this to be the fault of my superficiality.

"'For fear of further bothering you with the writing of a reply, I do not dare to write you any more after this. But I am sending I-shan to take this to you. My dullness being unenlightened I cannot but trouble you this time more, hoping that you will not mind telling I-shan what you want to say and letting him transmit it orally. If you could kindly do me this favour, I would be lucky indeed.'

"The Master said, 'You said, "I do not mean that there is not the least difference between them," (i.e., the minds of the child and the sage), then there is difference. If it is something which is different [from the mind of the sage], how then can it be the great root? If you infer from this, the rest will be obvious.'"

(7)

"Ta-lin said, 'I take the child's mind as unstirred, while you take the child's mind to be already in a stirred state. As to the reality of the great root, however, there is no difference between your statement and mine. The only point of difference lies in your respective interpretation of the child's mind. I said previously that the term, the child's mind, refers only to its purity and guilelessness in which it is the same as that of the sage. And I believe Mencius in using the term meant the same. Therefore without going into a detailed comparison of similarities and differences, I took it as a description of the sage's mind, never intending in the least to

[50] Appendix II, I, X, 62.

[51] Here the writer is referring to *Mencius*, VI, I, VII, 8, where in discussing the goodness of human nature he said, "Therefore I say, 'Men's mouths agree in having the same relishes, their ears agree in enjoying the same sounds; their eyes agree in recognizing the same beauty: shall their minds alone be without that which they similarly approve? What is it then of which they similarly approve? It is, I say, the principles of our nature, and the determinations of righteousness. The sages only apprehended before me that of which my mind approves along with other men. Therefore the principles of our nature and the determinations of righteousness are agreeable to my mind; just as the flesh of grass and grain-fed animals is agreeable to my mouth."

take the stirred state of the child's mind in which it differs from the sage as the great root. You said that the term "mind" invariably refers to a state in which there are already stirrings of the passions. If this be true can we therefore say that before the stirrings of the passions take place the mind is non-existent? I, however, rather think that before the stirrings take place the substance of the mind is clearly there. The stirrings are but the function of the mind. This is where I am deeply puzzled without being able to understand. Lest any crucial point should be lost by the oral transmitter, I earnestly request your favour of giving me a written reply.'

"The Master said, 'Your argument shows that although in thought you take that in which there are stirrings [namely, the child's mind] to be unstirred, yet in word you acknowledge that your terminology for that in which there are stirrings is merely a matter of imperfection in verbal expression, a lack of refinement in the selection of words.'

"'The expression, "the term mind invariably refers to a state in which there are already stirrings of the passions" is indeed unsound. The mind is one, though it is sometimes referred to as substance and sometimes as function, depending on which aspect of it is under review. It is a matter of common experience that the finer the argument the easier it is to make a slip in words; as you said in your letter, some crucial point may have been lost by the oral transmitter. However, after thinking it over and over again, I feel that though there is error in the expression it has not completely missed the general idea.'

"'In a previous discussion you said that "Chung is none other than human nature." That is to split [human nature and its attribute] into two. It is better to say "human nature is chung [as adjective]".'

"'As to my remark about the look of the sage's flavor in your statement, we do not even need to discuss the sage. What I replied in the second letter is already clear enough.'"—*ICWC, V, 9b; 12–12a; 12.

5.3.2.2 Discussions with Su Ping and Others

The discussions found in the following quotations centre in Su Ping's question as to how one could be free from worries. The question sounds modern, but it came out of the background of Ch'anism. The latter school of Buddhism emphasized the realization of the Buddha nature in one's everyday life by freedom from attachments. According to their teaching worries and sufferings arise from man's attachments to things of this world. Attachments are caused by ignorance. Ignorance can only be conquered by Enlightenment. Enlightenment cannot come in a gradual way. Because ultimate Truth or Wu is one. It can only be grasped as a whole or not at all. One is either completely in the light or he is completely in the dark. There is no middle ground. When one has attained sudden Enlightenment, all attachments drop off, and he is absolutely free. He continues to live in the world, and do his daily duties, but he is no more of the world. He is emancipated. He is having a foretaste of nirvana.

Living in an age when freedom from worries in this Buddhist sense was held as one of the highest values of life, Su Ping raised the question as to how this freedom could be attained in the Confucian way. Answers to these questions led to discussions over three main subjects: (1) The nature of the mind and human nature; (2) The idea of Chih or resting in the virtues of right relationships as a substitute for the empty meditation of the Buddhists; and (3) The practice of the attitude of reverent devotion instead of mere quietness. The last point will not be dealt with here, but will be taken up in Sect. 7.5.1 below.

(1) The nature of the mind and human nature:
Someone asked, "Is it advisable to search for 'chung' [in the mind] before there are any stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy?"
The Master said, "No. Since you intend to search for it before there are any stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, your intention is a process of thinking. Now thinking is also a kind of stirring of the mind. Once stirred, the state is to be called that of 'harmony', and not 'chung'."—IS, XVIII, 14b: 7–9.
"If you speak about keeping and nourishing your mind while there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, that will do. But if you speak about searching for 'chung' before there are any stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, that will not do."—IS, XVIII, 14b: 10–11.
"How can you search for ['chung'] while there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy. All you need to do is to nourish [the mind] in your daily life. After a long period of nourishment, the feelings when stirred will naturally act in their due degree."—IS, XVIII, 14b: 12–13.
Su Ping (Chi-ming) asked, "You said that in the text: 'While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy the mind may be said to be in the state of chung', the expression 'chung' means being in the middle, will you please explain that?"
He said, "Simply the state wherein neither pleasure, anger, sorrow, nor joy is stirred, that is 'chung'."—IS, XVIII, 15a: 3–4.
Su Ping asked, "When the mind is in the state of chung, [is it true that] the ears do not hear and the eyes do not see?"
He said, "Even though the ears hear not and the eyes see not, yet the Li of seeing and hearing should be there."—IS, XVIII, 15a: 5–6.
[The Master said], "From the point of view of the activity of the mind (Lit. events), we may say that only occasionally is it in the state of chung. But from the point of the Tao, we must say that there is no occasion when it is not in the chung (or the mean)."—IS, XVIII, 15a: 5–7.
Someone asked, "Before [the feeling of] pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy are stirred, would you call [the state of mind] motion or stillness?"
He said, "You may call it stillness. But in the stillness there must be something. This is where it is difficult. At this point it is better for a scholar to comprehend first [the attitude of] reverent devotion (ching). When he knows how to practice reverent devotion, he will understand this."
Someone asked, "How do you practice reverent devotion?"

He said, "Nothing is more important than to abide in Oneness (chu i)."—IS, XVIII, 15b: 5–7.

Ch'eng I said that we must not take comprehension as not belonging to the function of the mind. It is because people took comprehension as not belonging to the function of the mind that there arose the theory that the mind is small while human nature is great. The sage's mind (Lit. spirit) is one with Heaven, how can they be two? What is described as hitting what is right without an effort and apprehending with the exercise of thought[52] is all the function of this mind. It is therefore not different from that of Heaven and Earth. Hence we must not consider it small. Some would limit the function of the mind to knowledge: that is why they take the mind to be small.—#IS, II A, 7a: 11–13 (1079 A.D.).

Someone was talking about [the state of the mind] before it is affected and was wondering whether one could know where it dwells. He said, "[The mind is something like what is thus described], 'Hold it fast, and it remains with you. Let it go, and you lose it. Its outgoing and incoming cannot be defined as to time or place.'[53] How then can one fine where it dwells? The only thing to do is to hold it fast. And the way to hold it fast is by holding the attitude of reverent devotion. Reverent devotion is that by which one rectifies his inner life."—#IS, XV, 7a: 4–5 (1080 A.D.).

(2) The idea of Chih or resting in the virtues of right relationships as a substitute for the empty meditation of the Buddhists:

Su Ping asked, "It is a matter of common observation that when the four feelings [namely, pleasure, anger, sorrow, and joy] are not stirred, when the mind is still, there is in it a particular kind of atmosphere. But when it comes into contract with external things, its state becomes quite different. Why is this?"

He said, "An expert observer does differently. He would rather make his observation at the time when the feelings are already in a stirred state. Tell me what you find when the mind is still."

Su Ping replied, "One cannot say that nothing is there. For the mind is conscious."

He said, "Since there is consciousness, then the mind is in the state of motion, how can you say that it is still? In interpreting the text: 'Do we not see in Fu the mind of Heaven and Earth?'[54] people all say that the mind of Heaven and Earth may be seen when one is in the state of absolute stillness. That is wrong. The undivided line [yang] at the bottom of the hexagram means motion. How can they say that it is still? Confucian scholars throughout the ages have all said that in stillness one may see the mind of Heaven and Earth. I, however, say that in motion one may see the mind of Heaven and Earth."

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[52] *Doctrine of the Mean*, XX, 18.

[53] *Mencius*, VI, I, VIII, 5.

[54] YK, App. I, Hex. XXIV, 5.

Someone asked, "Does it follow then that one should seek tranquility in motion?"

He said, "Right. But it is most difficult to do so. The Buddhists are fond of talking about the fixed state of contemplation (ting), whereas the sage spoke about the point where one should rest (chih).[55] For instance, when a thing is good, one has to say that it is good; when a thing is bad, one has to say that it is bad. Things are good or bad by their own nature: what has that to do with me? One might say [after the Buddhist fashion] that 'I am going to remain in my fixed state of contemplation, and am not going to do anything other than that;' but the goodness and badness of things will be there just the same. Therefore the sage spoke of the point where one should rest. Then meaning of this may be seen in sayings like 'As a sovereign he rested in benevolence. As a minister he rested in reverence,' etc.[56] In the Hexagram Ken in the *Book of Changes*[57] the meaning of resting is thus explained: 'Resting in one's resting-point is resting in one's proper place,' this is to say, persons and things are to be rested or placed according to the proper places they ought to be. Most people do not know how to practice [this principle of] resting. For apparently man having all things complete in him,[58] when things happen, worries will take turn to appear according to the importance given to the respective matters. As soon as one matter is deemed important, worry about it will emerge. If one could give each thing its due [in a dispassionate way], then worries would not emerge."—IS, XVIII, 15a: 7–15b: 5.

[55] *Great Learing,* Text: 1 and 2; Commentary: 3.

[56] Ibid.

[57] YK, App. I, Hex. 52: 2.

[58] *Mencius*, VII, I, IV, 1.

Chapter 6
Fundamentals of Ethical Teaching

As has been said in the Introduction, Ch'eng I was essentially an ethical teacher. His ethical thought was built on the basis of his metaphysical concepts and his ideas about nature, history and man. But he was interested in these concepts and ideas only in so far as they had a bearing upon his ethical teaching. He was never interested in any intellectual pursuit for its own sake. All studies and writings must be done with the sole purpose of understanding moral truth and through it the achievement of perfect manhood, or else everything is a waste of time. In this, Ch'eng I was acting the part of a typical Confucian. It was because of this that though he was an ethical teacher, he was not a teacher of "Ethics" in the modern sense of the term. He had no ethics; he had only ethical teaching.

Speaking about the blending together of ethics with cosmology and metaphysics in the Confucian tradition, Professor Chang Tung-sun said, "To put it in not very exact terms, one might say that there is true metaphysics (in the narrow sense of the word, or ontology) in the West; but in India metaphysics is actually cosmology; while in China it is simply philosophy of life or ethics."

"I have said elsewhere that the goal of Buddhist self-cultivation is to obtain Enlightenment…. The goal of Sung and Ming Neo-Confucian self-cultivation lies in practical living…. The results are that those who aim at Enlightenment obtain Insight, while those who aim at practical living are able to have joy."

"I always feel that in the West moral ideas, cosmological theories and metaphysical concepts may be mutually connected and yet they must remain three, and cannot be mixed up into one. It is not so in China, where moral ideas stand for cosmological theories, and cosmological theories stand for metaphysical concepts. The three are actually one, without any distinction as to which comes first and which after. This attitude is called occultism in the West and is generally looked down upon. But I am of the option that it is exactly here that the advantage of Chinese thought is also to be found."[1]

[1]Chang Tung-sun, "Concerning the nature of Sung and Ming Neo-Confucianism; A Second Replay to Mr. Hsiung Shih-Ii", *Wen Che Yüeh K'an* (In Chinese) Vol. I, No. 6, March 20, 1936.

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It may be seen from the last chapter where we developed Ch'eng I's idea of man that he dealt extensively with the question of human nature. But in the whole of the discussion, no analysis was made of volition and freedom. It seems that as a Confucian he did not think this necessary. Freedom, however, though not mentioned was in fact taken for granted, as had been done throughout the Confucian tradition. In the teaching that Heaven's ordinance is what we call the nature (of man), to follow out the nature is what we call the Tao,[2] Confucian philosophers never for one moment stopped and wondered if in the situation thus defined men would not become a fatally predestined mechanical means for the carrying out of Heaven's will. Why? Because it is unthinkable. Man can always refuse to follow out his nature and act against Heaven. Or he may do injury to himself and throw himself away by refusing to cultivate his personality, so that instead of heading towards sagehood, he will forever remain a stupid man of the lowest class.[3] This means freedom, and this is what is always taken for granted. In the fields of what a modern student will perhaps call the logic of ethics and the metaphysics of ethics, major premises are similarly taken for granted. But as discussion of these will follow immediately below, they do not need to be developed here.

In this and the following chapter, the attempt will be made to arrange his voluminous ethical teaching in some logical order. It may not be the way Ch'eng I himself would have arranged it. It is also different from the way in which Chu Hsi and others handled their selections Ch'eng I's sayings. But it is the best the author could do in order to make his ethical thought intelligible to the modern mind. Put in this manner, the material appears quite straightforward. Ideas hang together, and the logical relationship between the major concepts is clear. A glance at the general outline is sufficient to enable one to have some general conception of the internal organization of his thought. Brief notes will be added under topical headings wherever they may be needed.

6.1 There Is a Universal Ethical Order

The fundamental presupposition of Ch'eng I's entire ethical thinking is the conviction that there is a universal ethical order. This order is good and rational, and in its image, man was made. It is the ground of being. Duty must be done because it comes from this ultimate source and ground of being, and because to perform it is to fulfil life, while to refuse to do it is to deny the very purpose of life. This has been the traditional belief of the Confucian School, and ever since Confucius all the great teachers have emphasized the distinction between what is right and what is useful. Right must be done for its own sake, and not because it can bring desirable results or happiness.

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[2] *Doctrine of the Mean*, chap. I.

[3] IS, XIX, 4b: 4–6, quoted in Sect. 5.2.5, above.

The grounds for this general conviction about the universal ethical order are as follows:

6.1.1 The Universal Applicability of Li

There is a system of natural law, which is called Li, which governs the physical and moral worlds. It is one and is universally applicable. For Ch'eng I's saying about this subject, the reader is referred to Sect. 2.3.1.3 above.

6.1.2 The Concept of Natural Order

In close connection with the concept of Li is the concept of natural order. The fact that heaven is above and the earth below and that there exist creatures and things in natural groupings of classes and species suggested to the Confucian thinker that there is a natural order among things just as there is a social hierarchy among men. He further believed that the natural order among things is not a matter of subjective interpretation on the part of man. It is rather a categorical objective truth of the universe. As a matter of fact, this natural order is a logical expression of Li. Li as it is worked out in nature necessarily means order. This order is both natural and ethical just as Li is both natural and ethical and is the metaphysical basis for the doctrine of Propriety in the Confucian ethical teaching. From the concept of a natural order, therefore, Ch'eng I believed that we can postulate the existence of a universal ethical order. Quotations from Ch'eng I in this regard have already been given in Sect. 2.3.1.5 above.

6.1.3 The Unity of Li, Human Nature and Heaven's Ordinance

If Li (or natural law) is expressed in the natural order of things, it is also conferred by Heaven upon man to form what we call human nature. Li, human nature, and Heaven's ordinance are the three basic concepts of the Neo-Confucianists. They are believed by Ch'eng I to be fundamentally one. For although when it is observed in things we call it Li, when it is conferred upon man we call it human nature and when spoken of from the point of view of Heaven we call it ordinance, all these designations represent the same reality of the rational and moral order which runs through and underlies all things. Therefore, Ch'eng I was able to say, human nature is Li. He was also able to say that the investigation of Li, the fulfilment of human

nature and the understanding of Heaven's ordinance all amount to one and the same thing, and that when one probes to the depths of Li, or fulfils one's own nature, one finds Heaven's ordinance right there.

[T'ang Ti] asked him again about human nature. He said, "Human nature is Li; this is what we call 'Li Hsing' or the rational nature. The Li of all things and creatures in this world of our experience when it is traced to its source, will be found good without exception."—IS, XXII A, 11a: 9–10. This has also been quoted in Sect. 5.2.3.

"Human nature is good without exception…. Human nature is Li. Being Li it is invariably one and the same in all men, be they [the sage-emperors] Yao and Shun or ordinary men on the street."—IS, XVIII, 17b: 7–8. Also quoted in Sect. 5.2.3.

Chou Pai-wen asked, "[Mencius said, 'He who has fulfilled his mind knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven']. Now in speaking about mind, nature, and Heaven, was he referring to one and the same thing, namely, Li?"

He said, "Yes. From the point of view of Li, we call it 'Heaven'. From the point of view of man's receiving it [from Heaven], we call it 'nature'. From the point of view of what man keeps within him we call it 'mind'."—IS, XXII A, 14b: 4–5.

"With reference to Heaven it is called 'ming' or ordinance. With reference to things and creatures[4] it is called Li or natural law. As master of the body it is called the mind. But in reality they are one."—IS, XVIII, 17a: 11.

Chou Pai-wen asked about the meaning of the saying, "He who has fulfilled his mind knows his nature. Knowing his nature, he knows Heaven."[5]

He said, "By 'fulfilling the mind' is meant that each person must fulfill his own mind. Being able to fulfill the mind one will naturally know his own nature and [the will of] Heaven.

"This is comparable to the saying, 'They probed to the depths of Li, and effected the fulfillment of (every) nature, until they arrived at the appointment [of Heaven].'[6] To state it in order these stages cannot be set forth in any other way. But as a matter of fact, when one is able to probe the Li to the depths, one has already fulfilled his nature and arrived at the knowledge of the appointment of Heaven."

Again Chou Pai-wen asked about "serving Heaven".[7]

He said, "Simply obey".—IS, XXII A, 11b: 6–8.

It was asked, "[In what Mencius said about] fulfilling the mind does it mean that one has the mind of commiseration, and shame, etc.,[8] which if one fulfills one will know one's own nature?"

He said, "Why should you calculate it that way? Simply fulfill your mind, that is all. As soon as you stop to calculate, you prevent yourself from fulfilling it…. As

[4]Read wu instead if i, following a note in the *Wan Yu* ed., as it is an apparent mistake made by the recorder or some copyist (see Glossary, wu etc.).

[5]*Mencius*,VII, I, I, 1.

[6]YK, Appendix V, I, 3.

[7]*Mencius*, loc. cit. 3.

[8]*Mencius*, II, I, VI, 4, 5.

soon as you fulfill your mind, that is equal to knowing your nature, and knowing your nature is equal to knowing Heaven."—IS, XVIII, 20a: 4–6.

The two Masters Ch'eng, in explaining the saying, "They probed to the depths of Li, and effected the fulfillment of [every] nature, until they arrived at the appointment [of Heaven]," maintained that the mere probing to the depths of Li is equal to arriving at the appointment of Heaven. Chang Tsai thought that that was going too fast. He believed that there is an intrinsic order in the proposition. One must first probe to the depths of Li, and then he will be able to fulfil his own nature. Thence by treating others like himself he will proceed to fulfil the natures of other men. After fulfiling the nature of other men, he must fulfil the natures of all things and creatures before he is able to arrive at the Tao of Heaven. Between [the first and the last stages] there is much to be done. How can one arrive at the understanding all at once? The scholar must take the probing of Li as his first step, so that he knows how to learn. There is a difference in the stage of progress between the expressions "Knowing the appointment of Heaven" and "arriving at the appointment of Heaven", how can one say that to know is to arrive at?—# IS, X, 5a: 1–5 (1077 A.D.)

"Probing to the depths of Li, fulfilling the nature, and arriving at the appointment [of Heaven], all three are but one thing. As soon as one probes to the depths of Li, one fulfills one's own nature. As soon as one fulfills one's own nature, one arrives at the appointment [of Heaven]."—IS, XVIII, 9a: 5.

It was asked, "In the 'Description of the Deeds [of the Master Min Tao]' you said that the effort of fulfilling the nature and arriving at the appointment of Heaven must be based on filial piety and fraternal love.[9] I should like to know how filial piety and fraternal love can enable one to fulfill his own nature and arrive at the appointment of Heaven."

He said, "Later generations have put human nature and the appointment of Heaven in separate categories, whereas essentially human nature and the appointment of Heaven and filial piety and fraternal love are the same thing. In the very practice of filial piety and fraternal love one can fulfill his own nature and arrive at the appointment of Heaven. Such early steps of education as sprinkling,[10] sweeping, and polite conversation are also one thing with the fulfillment of one's own nature and arriving, at Heaven's appointment. Between them there is no distinction as to which is essential and which is unessential, which is finer and which is coarser. But men of later generations in discussing [the fulfillment of] human nature and [arriving at] Heaven's appointment have spoken of them as if they belong to a loftier and more far-reaching category. Therefore the reference (in my writing) to filial piety and fraternal love is simply intended to speak about the matter in terms nearer to everyday life. One cannot deny that there are people at the present time who have acted as good sons and good brothers. They have not been able to fulfill

[9]*ICWC, VII, 6a, 13.

[10]To dampen the floor in order to keep the dust down.

their natures and arrive at the appointment of Heaven, because they practice it without knowing the nature of it."[11]—IS, XVIII, 32a: 5–9.

6.1.4 The Concept of Jen

It has been said in the last chapter that Jen or benevolence is one of the seedlings of virtue that Heaven implanted in the human nature and that when Jen is taken as the essential character of the universe it is supposed to include all the other cardinal virtues. Here in Ch'eng I's ethical teaching Jen was interpreted as an impartial all-inclusive interest. As such it stands over against self-interest. But why is Jen necessarily good and self-interest necessarily bad? Because the universal ethical order itself is impartial. The *Book of Changes* had said that the great attribute of Heaven and Earth is the giving and maintaining of life.[12] Ch'eng Hao had interpreted this attribute to mean Jen. If a man lives in the spirit of Jen, he is in harmony with the natural order. If he lives in the spirit of self-interest, he is against the natural order. In his teaching about Jen, therefore, Ch'eng I was reaffirming a universal ethical order to which man is supposed to conform.

Chou Kung-hsien (Pai-wen) asked about the meaning of the saying, "The Master said, 'Such was Hui that for three months there was nothing in his mind contrary to Jen.'"[13]

He said, "By 'nothing contrary' is meant that there is not the slightest trace of self-interest. If there is any self-interest then it is not Jen."—IS, XXII A, 6a: 3–4.

Chou kung-hsien asked again, "What is Jen?"

He said, "Nothing but an impartial all-inclusive interest (kung). When scholars enquire about the meaning of Jen, I often told them to contemplate the idea of impartial all-inclusive interest."—IS, XXII A, 6a: 12–13.

"The principle of Jen may in short be represented by the word kung or an impartial all-inclusive interest. [However, it must be remembered that] kung is only the Li or underlying rationale of Jen: As such it may not be called Jen. When kung is embodied in man, then it is Jen. It is simply because of kung that I am able not only to look after myself but also things and creatures [outside of me]. Therefore, Jen is that by which one is able to practice 'like-heartedness' (shu, or placing oneself in the other man's position).[14] It is also that by which one is able to love. 'Like-heartedness' is the dispensation of Jen. Love is the application of Jen."—#IS, XV, 8b: 11–13 (1080 A.D.).

"Where there is an impartial all-inclusive interest, there will be unity. But where there is self-interest, there will be ten thousand differences. For justice is one, and

[11] *Mencius*, VII, I, V, I.

[12] YK, Appendix III, I, I, 10.

[13] *Analects*, VI, V.

[14] See Ch'eng I's definition of Shu in IS, XXIII, 1b: 3–4.

righteousness is not divided. The fact that human minds are as different as the looks of their faces is simply due to self-interest."—IS, XV, 1b: 13 (1080 A.D.).

T'ang Ti asked again the meaning of the saying, "To subdue oneself and return to propriety is Jen (or true manhood)."[15]

He said, "Whatever is contrary to propriety is self-interest. Since there is self-interest, how can there be Jen? A man must first subdue all egoism and self-interest; only where there is propriety can there be Jen."—IS, XXII a, 7a: 8–9.

6.1.5 The Concept of Ch'eng

Ch'eng or the spirit of absolute sincerity was often on the lips of Ch'eng I. He seemed to believe that it is the most powerful moral weapon one could over use. The best way to exert moral influence upon others is by Ch'eng; the best way to tackle evil is by Ch'eng. In the chapter on Ch'eng I's idea of nature, in the section dealing with the concept of spiritual beings, we have made mention of Ch'eng as the character of ever-continuing regularity in the cosmic order. That same character when it is applied to men means to be true to one's own Heaven-conferred nature. When it is applied to the spirit in which one deals with other people, it is the spirit of absolute sincerity. In Chinese classics the same word Ch'eng is used in all three cases. But why is Ch'eng such a powerful spiritual weapon? Because if in the cosmic order Ch'eng means truth and law, then in the ethical realm to do a thing in the spirit of Ch'eng or absolute sincerity means to be working in close cooperation with the universe. That is probably why Dr. Francis C. M. Wei translated Ch'eng as "harmony with nature".[16] When one does a thing in the spirit of Ch'eng, one is powerful. The power does not come from man himself. It comes from the mighty law and order of the universe with which he works.

"In giving counsel to a person, unless one is full of sincerity, he cannot move and convince him…. It is like striking a bell. When one strikes it in an angry mood, the tone that it gives will be violent. When one strikes it in a sorrowful mood, the tone that it gives will be sad. This is the effect of the moving power of sincerity. The same is true in counseling. This is why the ancients practiced fasting before they gave counsels to the ruler. [Since I was appointed Expositor of Canonical Texts] I have twice had the privilege of lecturing [to His Majesty]. Each time before I lectured I dare not omit the ritual of fasting, concentrating my thought and cultivating (lit. preserving) my sincerity, with the hope that I might move the heart of the Emperor."—*ICWC, II, 7b: 11–8a: 1.

"For in dealing with people, things, and affairs, there is nothing that the moving powers of Ch'eng cannot affect. Cultivate the personality with Ch'eng, and the personality will be upright. Manage affairs with Ch'eng, and the affairs will come

[15] *Analects*, XII, I, 1.

[16] *The Spirit of Chinese Culture*, p. 84.

out in good order. Approach people with Ch'eng, and people will be moved and influenced. Thus it is that [with Ch'eng] one can achieve the moral propose wherever one goes."—*IC, II, 36b: 3–4. (YK, App. II, Hex. 25: 1).

"Absolute sincerity is not conditioned by distance. That is why in the Hsi Tz'u (YK, Appendix III) it is said, 'If [the words be] good, they will be responded to at a distance of more than a thousand li (one li equals to about1/3 mile)…. If they be evil, they will awaken opposition at a distance of more than a thousand li.'[17] This refers to the moving [power of] sincerity. The truth of the moving power of absolute sincerity is only understood by those who know the Tao."—IC, IV, 50a: 10–11. (YK, Hex. 61:2).

"The right way for the ruler is to move the people of the whole empire with his absolute sincerity, so that they will believe him in their hearts."—*IC, IV, 51a: 6. (YK, Hex. 61: 5).

Someone asked, "The secretary [in the district office] is supposed to serve as an assistant to the magistrate. But if the magistrate refuses to listen to what the secretary proposes, what could the latter do?"

He said, "He must try to move him with sincerity. The discord between the magistrate and the secretary is often a matter of their being on bad terms with each other. Now the magistrate is the head of the district. If the secretary is able to serve him in the same spirit as he serves his own father and elder brother, bearing the responsibility for whatever things have gone wrong, and never letting any good be reported but making sure that it is ascribed to the magistrate, I say, if the secretary is able to heap upon him such expressions of sincerity, what can prevent him from being moved?"—IS, XVIII, 3b: 3–6.[18]

6.2 Standards of Moral Judgment

6.2.1 The Primary Ethical Norm

There is a rule of right for every relationship to which man must conform. There is a duty in every particular situation which man must perform. But what is the nature of this duty and this rule of right? What is the standard by which we judge right and wrong? It is not human reason although it is rational. It is not social custom although social custom must follow it. It is completely independent of man and yet remains in man. It is the Great Way of Heaven, the T'ien Tao in Chinese. "What Heaven has conferred," says the *Doctrine of the Mean* in its very opening sentence, "is what we call human natures. In accordance with this nature is what we call the Tao." This has set the primary norm for Confucian ethical thinking since it was said

[17]YK, Appendix III, I, VIII, 42.

[18]For further material on the same subject refer also *IC, II, 49b: 8–11; *IC, III, 57b: 11–12; 58a: 1–2; *IC, IV, 49a: 10–11; IS, XVIII, 6b: 5; *ICWC, VII, 8b: 4.

in the second century B. C. This Tao is Li. It is the moral law which underlies all existence and forms the essence of human nature. Inwardly, it has been revealed to man in his inmost parts. Outwardly, it is manifested in all things for those who have eyes to see. But it is of Heaven and from Heaven. It is the ultimate ground of moral judgment.

[Text]: "Resting in one's resting-point is resting in one's proper place."

[Comment]: "The expression 'Resting in one's resting-point' means to really able to rest in the resting-point when one tries to rest. The reason why one is really able to rest in the resting-point when one tries to rest is because one has found the proper resting place. For it is impossible to rest when one tries to rest without finding a proper place.

"When the Master (Confucius) said, 'When it rests it knows where to rest,'[19] he meant the proper place to rest.

"For surely everything has its specific law.[20] The father must rest in kindness. The son must rest in filial love. The ruler must rest in benevolence. The minister must rest in reverence. For everything and every affair, there is a proper place. When things rest in their proper places all will go well. When things do not rest in their proper places, they will go against what is right. The sage is able to keep the empire in peace and order, not because he is able to make a law for everything. No. He is able to do so simply by letting everything rest in its proper place."—*IC, IV, 20b: 5–9. (YK, App. I, Hex. 52: 2).

"When the mind understands the Tao, then it can distinguish between right and wrong, in the same way as a weighing scale is able to tell the light from the heavy. This is what Mencius meant by 'understanding words'.[21] When a thing is measured by the standard of the Tao, then its right and wrong can distinctly be seen without having to wait for careful thinking. A scholar must make the Tao his own mind. To try to comment on the right and wrong of the ancients without understanding the Tao will be like a man trying to tell the weight of a thing without using a weighing scale. Evan though by straining his eyes and tiring his mind he should be able to dwell in the middle way according to the requirements of the time,[22] yet that will only be like what the ancient sage said, 'his guesses are often correct'.[23] But that is not what the gentleman holds in high esteem."—*ICWC, V, 7b: 3–6.

"Second Petition [to the Empress Dowager] for resignation."[24]

"… Those who do not know me will either say that I am being angry and irritable, or that I am feigning affectation in order to win fame. But how can it be

[19] *Great Learning*, III, 2.

[20] From *Shih King*, "The Major Odes", Lecade iii, Ode 6, p. 425; also quoted in *Mencius*, VI, I, VI, 8.

[21] *Mencius*, II, I, II, 11.

[22] *Doctrine of the Mean*, II, Chu Hsi's *Commentary*.

[23] The quotation is part of Confucius' criticism of Tzu Kung. See *Analects*, XI, XVIII, 2.

[24] This Petition is not dead. The first one was written in 1088. Receiving no reply, he wrote the present one. The post he held was Expositor of Canonical Texts at the Ch'ung Cheng Hall. See Introduction Sect. 1.1, Footnote 43.

true that I am so acting? I am one who has received the supreme teaching [of the sages] and who is intent upon serving the Tao. If the Tao cannot be carried out in the world [lit. the time], it can yet be carried out in oneself; if it is not believed in at the present time, one may yet expect it to be believed in in some future time. How can I permit myself to go against propriety and right conduct, and thus to destroy my own reputation among later generations? The step I take is therefore what seems right [lit. what ought to be done] in the light if the teaching of the sages and the worthies and the principles laid down in the scriptures. Moreover, the ethics of holding and resigning from an office is not something which is known to me alone, but to all who have learned the Tao. I wish your Majesty would enquire from all the ministers whether my request is morally right or not. If they think that it is not right, then the teaching I have learned must be utterly unreasonable, and I cannot but accept the blame of being false and frivolous. But if they think it right, then may I request the favour of granting me according to what I have petitioned? Your majesty's court might, for the consideration of the whole matter, not think it advisable to bestow upon me a leave of absence. I am therefore only petitioning for resignation from my post."—*ICWC, II, 14b: 7–12.

"The way (Tao) of Heaven is most mysterious. That is why it is called the 'mysterious way'. When one observes how Heaven makes the four seasons revolve without deviation, one realizes its mystery. The sages saw the mystery of the way of Heaven, and laid down their instructions by imitating its mysterious way. That is why all under the heaven yield submission to them.

"The way of Heaven is mysterious indeed. Therefore it is able to make the four seasons revolve and create all things and creatures without error. This extremely mysterious way cannot be described by words. But by intuitive understanding the sages were able to imitate its mysterious function and thereby lay down their instructions. Therefore all men were able to bathe in its virtues without being aware how it works; they were able to feel quickened under its influence without knowing how it functions. As a result, they naturally looked up to it with respect and yielded submission to it. That is why it is said, 'The sages in accordance with this mysterious way laid down their instructions, and all under the heaven yield submission to them.'"—*IC, II, 19a: 8–12. (YK, App. I, Hex. 20: 3).

"The [perfect] king imitates the Tao of Heaven in practicing remissions, bestowing favours, and taking care of the people, even insects and plants. This is to act in accordance with the circumstances as symbolized by the chieh [Hexagram 40], and to be in accord with Heaven and Earth in virtue."—*IC, III, 33b, 9–10. (YX, App. I, Hex. 40: 3).

"Heaven is the high ancestor of all things and creatures. The king is the secondary ancestor of all principalities. Ch'ien [symbolizing Heaven] engenders all things and creatures, and all classes and species prosper. The king sits in his Heaven-appointed throne, and the whole empire [lit. the four seas] is submissive to him. This is to say that when he [perfect] king imitates the Tao of Heaven, then the myriad states enjoy repose."—*IC, I, 2b: 11–12. (YK, App. I, Hex. 1: 4, 5).

"The greatness of the method of I (or Increase, Hex. 42) is here described in terms of the functions of Heaven and Earth. This is what the sages imitate in order

to bring increase to world. Heaven provides the source and beginning. Earth produces things and creatures. Heaven dispensing and Earth producing, and all things and creatures are created, each according to its correct nature and appointment, leading to an increase which is indeed without restriction of place.

"The unlimited increase that Heaven and Earth bring is nothing but in accordance with Li [or natural law]. The way in which the sages bring increase to the world is by operating in accordance with the time and in harmony with Li, being in full accord with Heaven and Earth: this is what is meant by 'proceeding according to the requirements of the time'."—*IC, III, 41a, 10–11; 41b: 1–2. (YK, App. I, Hex. 42: 3).

"I, [the name of the book known as *Changes*], means changes. [The principle underlying it all is] that changes must be made in accordance with the times in order to follow the Tao."—*IC, Preface.

6.2.2 *Secondary Ethical Norms*

Tao or the Great Way of Heaven has been cited as the primary norm of moral judgment. But it is much too abstract for practical purposes. Two secondary norms are therefore given in Ch'eng I's ethical teaching which make it easier for an ordinary man to know which is right and which is wrong in the daily round of life. These norms are chung, or the Mean, the Middle Way, and Shih, or the Timely Action.

6.2.2.1 Chung or the Mean

Chung as a moral standard was first taught by Confucius[25] and was developed in the *Doctrine of the Mean* ascribed to Confucius' grandson Tzu Ssu.[26] Mencius mentioned it without elaborating it.[27] In the first five Appendices of the *Book of Changes*, the word chung was mentioned 141 times and was made one of the main ethical concept of the book. Ch'eng I as a successor to this tradition adopted chung as one of the main measuring rods of right and wrong. According to him, chung is not a compromise between two extreme ways of conduct. It is the middle way which is not lopsided.[28] It is the right thing that one ought to do. It is the spirit of moderation in which one refrains from going into excesses. It is the practice of moral restraint which prevents one from exploiting any person or thing or situation.

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[25] *Analects*, VI, XXVII.

[26] He is known as Author A, who is responsible for the section roughly from Chap. 2 to the first half of Chap. 20. Opinions of scholars vary as to details.

[27] *Mencius*, VII, I, XXVI, 1–4.

[28] See Sect. 5.3.2.1.

It is doing the right thing in the light of one's relationship to the totality of the situation. This chung thus defined does not depend on human reason. It is something given, something that is ordained by Heaven and not made by man. To be sure man must exercise reason in order to fine it. But he does not make it.

The Master said, "For chung as a concept derives its name from its [neither] being an excess [nor] a falling short."

Again he said, "The state of not being away from the centre is called chung. The Tao is always in the centre. Therefore chung was used to describe the Tao."—*ICWC, V, 10b:1–2, 4–5. Also quoted in Sect. 5.3.2.1.

[Mention said, "The principle of the philosopher Yang was 'each one for himself'. Though he might have benefited the whole empire by plucking out a single hair, he would not have done it.

"The philosopher Mo loved all equally. If by rubbing smooth his whole body from the crown to the heel, he could have benefited the empire, he would have done it.

"Tzu Mo holds a medium between these…."[29]

Commenting on the above, Ch'eng I said,] "The philosopher Yang is unwilling to pluck a hair, while the philosopher Mo is willing to rub smooth his whole body, neither of them has grasped the mean. Tzu Mo [is said to] hold a medium. He wants to hold a medium between these two, I wonder how he can do it. He who understands will find that in every single thing or event there is intrinsically a mean there. That does not need any arrangement by man. If it is arranged by man it will not be the mean."—IS, XVII, 6a: 5–7 (Class C material).

"To study the *Ch'un Ch'iu* (or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) is also good. There each sentence records an event, wherein right and wrong are indicated. This is also an important way of probing to the depths of Li. The question may be raised, 'Can we not investigate Li by studying some other scriptures?' The answer is that whereas in other scriptures abstract principles are discussed, in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* concrete events are dealt with, wherein right and wrong are more readily seen. That is why it is an important way for the investigation of Li. I have told scholars [that the right procedure is] to study the *Analects* and *Mencius* first, then another scripture, then read the *Ch'un Ch'iu*. One must first apprehend some ethical principles before he reads the book.

"But what is the norm [by which ethical judgments are made] in the book? Nothing but the unchangeable principle of the golden mean.[30] In order to know whether an event is done in accordance with the golden mean one must weigh it. The golden mean must be followed with reference to the requirements of the times. If one is to fix mean between the extremity of devoting oneself to public service until one is completely worn out on the one hand,[31] and that of shutting oneself up

[29] *Mencius*, VII, I, XXVI, Legge's tr.

[30] See Ch'eng I's own definition of "Chung yung" in #IS, XV, 13b: 12–13, quoted under Sect. 2.3.1.4above.

[31] Lit. callosities on the hands and feet.

at home having nothing to do with the world on the other, that will not be the golden mean. When one ought to devote oneself to public service and does it, therein is the golden mean. When one ought to shut himself up and does it, therein is the golden mean. To weigh means to measure the weight with a scale. Now what is this scale that we should use? It is right conduct. But we can only go this far. Beyond this it is difficult to say anymore. One will have to realize it for oneself."—#IS, XV, 16a: 11–16b: 4 (1080 A.D.).

Illustrations of the application of the norm of the mean

"Intelligence is that by which things are seen. The gentleman sees everything. However, the use of intelligence can be carried too far, so that one commits the fault of peering too closely. Over-scrutinizing will cause one to go into everything, and to fall short of the spirit of toleration. Therefore when the gentleman observes the symbol of the bright (sun) entering within the earth [i.e. Hex. 36], he does not go to the extreme of peering into every detail in his relationships with those under his rule, but rather 'keeps his intelligence in abeyance', so that he is able to tolerate people and keep on good terms with them. When people are kept on good terms with him peace prevails. Thus it shows that [in such a situation] to keep the intelligence in abeyance is exactly the way to use the intelligence. On the other hand, if he should trust in his own intelligence and try to peer into everything, he would find himself overwhelmed by offenses, and would lose his virtues of generosity and toleration. The result will be feelings of discord, doubt, and unrest on the part of others, thus going against the right way of ruling men, so that [by starting out to use his intelligence] he arrives at exactly the opposite result. The sages of old used a fringe of pearls to hang down on the front of the crown. They also had the custom of planting screen-trees. All these indicate an unwillingness to investigate too closely into people's hidden things."[32]—*IC, III, 18a: 6–10. (YK, App. II, Hex. 36).

"Ancient sages who occupied the most venerable position [of the emperor], even though their discerning intelligence was sufficient to understand all things, their strength of determination sufficient to make all decisions, their influence sufficient to grasp all power, yet they never failed to listen to the opinions of all the people, taking heed even of the rustics. This is how they were able to be sages: being to occupy the imperial throne and remain enlightened. If they should trust in their own strength and intelligence, and be determined to carry out their own decisions without paying attention to public opinion, even if they were in the right, yet it would be a dangerous way to pursue: how could they hold firm to their position? If it is dangerous for those who have the gifts of strength and intelligence to trust in themselves, how much more for those who lack these gifts."—*IC, I, 39b: 9–12. (YK, Hex. 10: 5).

The following is a comment on Hexagram Yü (no. 16) which needs some explanation. The hexagram symbolizes the condition of pleasure, peace and contentment. Ch'eng I's comment quoted here centres on the second divided line from

[32]Ref. *IC, III, 16b: 7–13.

the bottom. His main ideas are as follows: In a time of pleasure, peace and contentment, it is always easy for a person to drift into moral looseness which is a serious pitfall for an upright character. Therefore, it is of great importance to keep to the mean without going into excesses and to maintain one's fidelity to moral principles without following the general trend of the time. The second divided line seems to symbolize a character which meets all the above requirements. In the first place, by occupying a position in the middle of the lower trigram it indicates the merit of sticking to the mean. Secondly, by having no correlate in the fourth line[33] it shows the quality of independence and fidelity to principle. Moreover, the text of the hexagram is interpreted to portray the subject of the second line as one who gets away from temptations, because he is able to foresee the danger in its earliest indications.

A passage from Appendix III of the *Book of Changes* is then quoted in support of the last point. Attention is called to the points implied in the passage that evil is a corruption of the good, and that by seeing danger in its earliest manifestations one will not depart from the mean.

"Under the conditions of pleasure and satisfaction when one lets himself loose, he is not able to keep himself upright. That is why in the Hexagram Yü (no. 16) most of the lines do not hold an upright position: this is a coincidence of the material in the figure and the time and condition indicated by the Hexagram. The subject of the second divided line alone occupies a middle and upright position.[34] Furthermore, he has no correlate[35]—a suggestive symbol of self-control. In a time of pleasure and satisfaction, when he alone is able to keep himself in the mean and uprightness, that shows a unique character of independence. The fidelity of such a person is indeed 'firm as a rock'…. Man in his relation to pleasure, because of his love for it, will gradually indulge in it until he is unable to stop himself. But the subject of the second line is able to keep himself in the mean and in uprightness, being 'firm as a rock', and is able to depart [from indulgence] quickly, not even delaying a single day. Therefore he is said to have 'firm correctness' and 'there will be good fortune'.

"It is not right to become composed in mind and to remain for a long period in a state of pleasure and satisfaction. If one remains long, one gives oneself over to indulgences. A person typified by the subject of the second line may be said to be one who 'sees the springs of things and acts accordingly'. The Master upon observing this fact proceeded to dwell fully on the idea of knowing the springs of things, saying,[36] and 'Does not he who knows the springs of things possess spirit-like wisdom? The gentleman, in his intercourse with the high uses no flattery,

[33]The lines 1st and 4th, 2nd and 5th, 3rd and 6th (counting from the bottom) in a hexagram are called correlates when one is divided and the other is undivided.

[34]In a hexagram the second line from the bottom occupies the middle position of the lower trigram, while the fifth line occupies the middle position of the upper.

[35]See explanation in Footnote 33 above.

[36]YK, App. III, II, V, 41. Ch'eng I believed it to be virtually saying if Confucius.

and in his intercourse with the low, no cheap familiarity: does not this show that he knows the springs of thing? Those springs are the slight beginnings of movement and the earliest indication of good fortune. The gentleman sees them, and acts accordingly without waiting for the delay of a single day. As is said in the *Book of Changes*, "He is firm as a rock, (and acts) without the delay of a single day. With firm correctness there will be good fortune." Firm as a rock, how should he have to wait a single day to ensure his knowing (those springs and his course)? The superior man knows the hidden and the revealed; he knows what is weak and what is strong: he is model to ten thousand.'

"A wisdom that discerns the hidden springs of things is indeed mysterious! The gentleman who in his intercourse with the high does not go so far as to use flattery, and in his intercourse with the low dose not go so far as to use cheap familiarity acts in this way because he knows the springs of things. If he does not know this he will go beyond the mean without restraint. In intercourse with the high, respect and docile obedience are required. Therefore when they are carried beyond the mean they become flattery. In intercourse with the low, kindness and ease are required. Therefore when they are carried beyond the mean they become cheap familiarity. The gentleman sees the possibility of such abuses in their minute beginnings [lit. springs and minuteness], that is why he is able not to go beyond the mean. The word 'springs of things' means minute beginnings of movement, which again are the earliest indications of good and bad fortunes which have not become fully manifested. Only 'good fortune' is here mentioned, because if one sees the earliest indications of things how can he let them develop into bad fortune? The gentleman is wise and sees the minute springs of things, therefore his fidelity can be firm as a rock. Science he is firm in fidelity, he is not confused with doubt but is clear in perception. Thus in seeing the springs of things and acting in accordance with them he does not need to wait for the delay of one day…. The 'hidden' and the 'revealed', the 'weak' and the 'strong' are complementary pairs. When the gentleman sees the hidden he knows also the revealed, when he sees the weak, he knows also the strong. A person who is able to see the springs of things in such a way, is looked up to by all. Therefore [the Master] praises him saying, 'He is a model to ten thousand'."—*IC, II, 6a: 1–6b: 2. (YK, Hex. 16: 2).

6.2.2.2 Shih: Or the Timely Action

The concept of doing the right thing at the right moment is another concept much stressed in the *Book of Changes* and taken over by Ch'eng I to serve as a secondary norm of moral judgment. By the "right moment" is meant the totality of the situation a person is in at a particular time. The idea is implied in his saying in the "Preface to the Commentary on the Book of Changes" already quoted: "I means to make changes according to the requirements of the times in order to follow the Tao." Ethical conduct is therefore not a set of fixed rules of doing things, but a timely adjustment to the living situation.

"Not failing to do what is right according to the requirements of the time, that is uprightness."—*IC, IV, 51b: 12. (YK, Hex. 62).

"In other hexagram when an undivided line is found in the position of line 2, it means that its subject has taken up a position which is both meek and in the mean. There is no implication that is too strong. But in the present hexagram, Wei Chi, [which means successful accomplishment not yet realized], the sage draws much from its symbolism for the purpose of giving warning, to show how one should serve the ruler with reverence and submission. Wei Chi indicates a time when the ruler is in distress. In the hexagram the subject of line 5, weak in character, occupies the position of the ruler; whereas line 2, being a character of strength and of the yang principle, and occupying a place which is a correlate of line 5, he is the right person to use. But by implication the strong tends to oppress the weak, and as a matter of symbolism water tends to conquer fire.[37] In a time of distress what the ruler depends on is the able minister. The latter must therefore all the more try his best to be reverent and submissive…. This is to warn against overusing strength of character. When strength of character is over-used the minister tends to become impertinent towards the ruler and defective in the attitude of submission."—*IC, IV, 59a: 2–5. (YK, Hex. 64: 2).

"Ming I as a hexagram represents darkness. When an unenlightened ruler is in power, that is the time when the wise are injured.[38]

"In the time of Ming I it is advantageous to be able not to lose [the spirit of] firm uprightness. By this I mean to be able to keep one's intelligence under cover. If one does not cover up his intelligence, he will meet with calamity. If one does not hold on to uprightness, one will not be worthy and intelligent."—*IC, III, 17b: 3–4; 18a: 2–3. (YK, App. I, Hex. 36).

"[The hexagram represents] heaven and earth not in intercommunication, that is why it is called 'P'i'. In such a time when the lines of communication are broken the influence of the good is on the decline. The gentleman must therefore take warning from the symbolism of the state of broken communications, restrain the manifestation of his virtue, and avoid calamities. He must not occupy a position of glory and high rank. P'i is the time when the wicked are enjoying power. In such a time, if the good man should occupy a high and glorious position, calamities would be bound to overtake him. That is why it is right for him to live in obscurity and poverty."—*IC, I, 45a: 3–5. (YK, App. II, Hex. 12).

"The subject of Line 3 occupying the top position of the lower trigram is one who is a leader of the people. He is a magistrate…. Being one of those below he ought to obey the order of the ruler; how then can he trust himself and act on his own authority in dispensing benefits?[39] However, in dealing with the affairs of a

[37]The hexagram Wei Chi consists of a lower trigram symbolizing water of which line 2 which represents the minister is the main line. The upper trigram symbolizes fire, of which line 2 which represents the ruler is the main line.

[38]The name of the Hexagram Ming I means Intelligence-wounded.

[39]This is referring to the name of the hexagram, no. 42, which means "to increase", and in this context "to benefit".

distressful and extraordinary character, he may do what seems right to meet an emergency, risking his own safety for the protection of his people. That is why he may be 'without blame'. When a minister acts on his own responsibility the ruler is bound to be suspicious. Even though during ill-fortune and distress he may do so for the sake of public duty, yet he must act with sincerity and do things in accord with the path of the mean; then his sincerity will influence the ruler, who will then have confidence in him. One may not act on one's own initiative without having the most sincere faithfulness to the ruler and live for the people. Neither may one do it without being in accord with the path of the mean even if he has sincerity."—*IC, III, 42b: 9–43a: 1. (YK, Hex. 42: 3).

6.3 Conception of Duty

Kant believed that the summum bonum of moral man included his own perfection and happiness, and that therefore he was justified in demanding happiness as the reward of duty. In fact, the demand seemed so essentially reasonable to Kant that he thought we must postulate a universal connection between the two as belonging to the order of the universe. Hence the existence of God. The Confucianists on the other hand never seemed to be concerned with happiness in their discussions about moral duties. To them it is man's duty to do what is right. If by doing the right blessings of life came as a consequence, well and good. It is what is normally to be expected from the law of cause and effect. If, however, by doing the right one receives the evil results instead, then it is Fate. Fate is something beyond understanding and control. It is to be taken as Heaven's appointment and received in the spirit of humble acceptance and content. Ch'eng I's sayings in this regard have already been quoted under "Man's right attitude towards Fate" in Chap. 4 above.

Duty is therefore to be performed for its own sake irrespective of what results it may bring. In view of this, one must be ready to do what it is one's duty to do and do it well. One may not expect any merit for doing anything extraordinarily well, knowing that whatever one can do in one's specific office is what one ought to do. One is not to be concerned with comfort or rest when one's service is needed. But above all, one must be always ready to stand up for what is right, daring to act differently from everybody else, even to lay down one's own life for the sake of moral truth. For moral truth is certainly more valuable than life.

But when it is impossible to do anything, when the totality of the situation does not permit one to take any action, or when it is time to leave all duties behind altogether, then it is one's duty to accept it as Heaven's appointment and rest in resignation, contentment and peace.

"Some contemporary scholar, in discussing the historic fact that the State of Lu used the ritual and music proper to an emperor when offering sacrifice to the Duke of Chou, maintained that since the Duke of Chou was able to accomplish what an ordinary minister could not have accomplished he was entitled to the kind of ritual and music that an ordinary minister might not use: this is not to understand the way

of being a minister. A man holding the office of the Duke of Chou was naturally expected to perform the duties of the Duke of Chou. All that he was able to do in the capacity of that office was nothing but what he ought to do. Therefore the Duke of Chou [in doing what he did] was only fulfilling his duties. The same applies to the way of being a son. Mencius alone was able to apprehend this. Therefore he said, 'To serve one's parents as Tseng Tzu served his, may be accepted [as being a good son],'[40] He had no thought that the filial conduct of Tseng Tzu was more than enough. Because whatever the son can do as a son [belongs to the category of] what he ought to do."—*IC, I, 27b: 10–28a: 2. (YK, Hex. 7: 2).

Speaking about what is meant by a gentleman and what is meant by a small man, Ch'eng I said, "A gentleman is one who sets his eyes on what is great. A small man is one who sets his eyes on what is trifling and near at hand. The mind of the gentleman is concerned not only with himself, but also with all in the whole world and their posterities. The thought of the small man is otherwise: for a moment's resentment he will not even be able to refrain from risking his life."—#IS, X, 4b: 1–3 (1077 A.D.).

Someone asked, "[Confucius said, 'The resolute scholar and the true man] will not seek life the expense of true manhood. Some even sacrifice their lives to crown their true manhood.' I take this to mean that if the alternate advantage is great, it is not so important to care for one's own self."

He said, "The point is to see which is more valuable: life or true manhood. The Master said, 'He who heard the Tao in the morning may die content in the evening.'[41] Man holds nothing more valuable than life. If Tao is something which causes a man to be ready to give up life and die, it must be a great deal more valuable than life."

It was again asked, "Having died, may I ask, what can the good be?"

He said, "The sage stakes[42] [his life] on what is right simply because it is right."—IS, XXIII, 2a: 5–7.

"Living in the world the sages and worthies agree with everybody else in things based on the constant natural law of life (lit. of man). But in matters of opinion, even when all others are agreed, they will sometimes disagree. In their inner nature they are similar to other men; but even so, they must disagree with error. He who is not able to agree with all [in things essential] is one who goes against constant natural law. He who is not able to express disagreement is one who follows popular trends and learns to do wrong. The important thing is to be able to agree on essentials and yet to disagree when necessary. This is what is meant by the saying in the *Doctrine of the Mean* that the gentleman 'cultivates a friendly harmony without being weak'."[43]—*IC, III, 25a: 12–25b: 2. (YK, App. II, Hex. 38).

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[40] *Mencius*, IV, I, XIX, 4.

[41] *Analects*, IV, VIII.

[42] Reading tu for `to stake' instead tu for `to see', following *Wan Yu* text.

[43] *Doctrine of the Mean*, ch. X, 5.

[Text]: "[The trigram representing] trees hidden beneath that representing the waters of a marsh forms Ta Kuo. The gentleman, in accordance with this, stands up alone and has no fear, and keeps himself apart from the world without regret."

[Comment]: "The gentleman ponders over [lit. observes] the symbolism of Ta Kuo, and, in accordance with this, accomplishes his extraordinary deeds. That in which the gentleman is extraordinary is his ability to stand alone without fear, and to remain apart without regret. To be criticized by the whole world yet to pay no attention to it; that is standing alone without fear. Not to be understood by the whole world yet to be without resentment,[44] that is to 'remain apart from the world regret'. Only by thus doing can he keep [his integrity]. This is how he is able to be extraordinary."—*IC, II, 46b: 10–47a: 1. (YK, App. II, Hex. 28).

"… One must first be filled with [the truth of] the Way before he can share it with others. That is why one does not readily throw himself into public service unless he is already fully matured in the truth. But there are also those who sacrifice themselves by coming out to be meet the need of the time. They hold no fixed rule about spending their lives in public service or in seclusion, following only what is right. Under the former category, namely, those who do not readily throw themselves into public service until they are themselves fully matured in the truth, we may place men like Yen Hui and Tseng Ts'an.[45] During their time, the great call of Heaven had fallen upon the Master [Confucius]. Therefore they could be spared to perfect their own persons. They would not go into public service until they had achieved sagehood. Those who live in a peaceful age and are not in demand may do similarly. Under the latter category, namely, those who sacrifice themselves by coming out to meet the need of the time, one may place men like Chu-ke Liang[46] and myself. Chu-ke Liang, moved by the [extraodinary] favour of the king (Hsien Chu) who thrice called at his humble hut requesting his help, being compassionate for the sufferings of the people, and desiring to restore the empire to the peace and order of the Golden Age [of the Three Dynasties] could find no rest in his conscience until he offered himself. As for myself, who live under an intelligent and virtuous ruler, at a time when the empire is under the threat of danger and unrest, can I feel justified in resorting to the perfecting of my own self, without saying one word to open the eyes of His Majesty? Therefore I said, [a man of this kind] holds no fixed rule about spending his life in public service or in seclusion, following only what is right."—#ICWC, I, 14a: 13–14b: 6 (1050 A.D.).

"[The subject of line 6] occupies a position at the limit (i.e., the top) of the hexagram Wei Chi (or Successful-accomplishment-not-yet-realized). Seeing that is not a position where realization could be brought about, nor is there any possibility of bringing it about at all, the only thing for him is to rest satisfied with Heaven and submit to Its appointment…. When one who is most true to himself is content with

[44]Cf. *Analects*, I, I, 3.

[45]Both are Confucius' great disciples.

[46]181–234 A.D.

righteousness and Heaven's appointment and feels happy, then 'there will be no error'."—*IC, IV, 60a: 10–12. (YK, Hex. 64: 6).

[Text:] "The third line, undivided, shows its subject in a position like that of the declining sun. Instead of playing on his instrument of earthenware, and singing to it, he utters the groans of an old man of eighty. There will be evil."

[Comment:] "… The hexagram Li [with two trigrams of fire one on the top of the other] means two lights which shine one after the other…. Line 3 situated at the top end of the lower trigram indicates the time when the fore light is about to be extinguished and the rear light is about to take its place. It symbolizes the beginning and end of human beings and the transition of time. Hence it is like the light of a 'declining sun'…. According to natural law (Li) when there is a time of thriving there is bound to be a time of decline, where there is a beginning there is bound to be an end: this is what is ordinary and normal. The wise follows natural law and is happy in it. 'Earthenware' is an ordinary vessel. To 'play on the instrument of earthenware' is to be happy in what is ordinary and normal. Those who cannot do so will 'groan' over the fact of being 'an old man of eighty', that will be 'evil'…. Now the wise knows that the end of life is a regular phenomenon. He [does not grudge but] is contented with Heaven's [appointment]….The unwise on the other hand is afraid, being always grieved over the coming end….This, is the way to face life and death."—*IC, II, 54b: 13; 55a: 1–6. (YK, Hex. 30: 3).

6.4 The Problem of Evil

6.4.1 Psychological Explanation of the Origin of Evil

(See Sect. 5.2.4.)

6.4.2 Evil Means Going Against the Tao of Heaven

"For immediately when there are selfish desires in man's mind, he is separated from the Tao."—*IC, III, 48a: 7–8. (YK, App. II, Hex. 43: 5).

"All abuses come from the domination of the non-essential over the essential. Lofty buildings and carved walls are an abuse of the essential purpose of provision for shelter. 'The lake of wine and the grove of meat'[47] were an abuse of the essential purpose of provision for food and drink. Extreme cruelty is an abuse of the essential purpose of punishment of crime. Militarism is an abuse of the essential

[47]Chou, the last emperor (c. 1154–1123 B.C.) of the Shang dynasty is said to have made a lake of wine and a grove upon which meats were hung for an all night feasting. Ref. *Shih Chi*: *Yin Pen Chi*.

purpose of correction of the lawless and subjugation of the rebellious. All excesses in human desires are abuses of essential purposes in providing for needs. But when deviations take place, abuses appear. Ancient kings founded institutions to fulfill all essential purposes: this is following the Li of Heaven. Later ages deviated towards the non-essential: this is following the selfish desires of man. The meaning of the Hexagram Sun (no. 41) is nothing other than that man should diminish selfish desires in order to return to the Li of Heaven."—*IC, III, 37a: 6–9. (YK, Hex. 41, p. 147).

"Li is what is most impartial in this world of our experience. Profit is what is desired by all. If one maintains an impartial mind, holding to the upright Li without losing it, then he will share his profit with all, and will not encroach upon what belongs to others. And other people will like to share with him too. But if he should be anxious in going after profit, and his mind should be obscured by selfishness, seeking his own increase to the disadvantage (lit. diminution) of others, then people will also contend with him. Therefore no one is willing to bring him increase, but there will be those assail him and snatch from him."—*IC, III, 44b: 1–3. (YK, App. II, Hex. 42: 6).

"Mencius in making a distinction between Shun and Chih[48] believed it to consist in the difference between the practice of right conduct and the pursuit of gain. I say "between", because the two are not far apart, and the difference is very small. The contrast of right conduct and gain is the contrast between an all-inclusive interest and an interest directed towards self alone. As soon as one goes beyond the bounds of right conduct one falls victim to the pursuit of gain. The mere act of calculation indicates that one is concerned with profit or loss. If one is not concerned why should one calculate? To be concerned with profit and loss is only normal with all men. Everyone knows how to go after profit and avoid loss. The sage, however, does not take them into consideration. He only reflects whether a thing ought or ought not to be done in the light of right conduct. Thus [he believes] Heaven's appointment for him lies in there."—IS, XVII, 2b: 3–6 (Class C).

6.4.3 Evil Means Going Against Human Nature

"[Mencius said, "Benevolence is man's mind, and righteousness is man's path.

"How lamentable is it to neglect the path and not pursue it, to lose this mind and not to seek it again!

"When men's fowls and dogs are lost, they know to seek for them again, but they lose their mind, and do not know to seek for it.

"The great end of learning is nothing else but to seek for the lost mind."][49]

[48]Shun as typical perfect ruler and Chih a notorious brigand of classical times. See *Mencius*, VII, I, XXV.

[49]*Mencius*, VI, I, XI.

"By losing the mind Mencius means that the mind is originally good, and that when it wanders into a state which is not good, it is due to the fact of losing it."—IS, XVIII, 20a: 2.

"[Mencius said], 'From the feelings proper to it [namely, human nature], it is constituted for the practice of what is good…. If men do what is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers.'[50] This refers to the fact that when a person allows his mind to sin in [vice], it is not the responsibility of the powers. The word ts'ai or powers means material. When a piece of wood is bent it may be used for a wheel, or when it is straight it may be used for a beam. But if it should be cut up and destroyed, is that the responsibility of the material? Did not Mencius in the context immediately following say that all men have the [seedlings of] the four cardinal virtues?"

Someone asked, "If there are good and evil powers how could he say that it is not the responsibility of the powers?"

He said, "When we say that there are good and evil powers we refer to the different kinds of powers in different persons (lit. we refer to the whole world). But in the case of the powers of a single person, when in a good year he becomes roguish or when in a bad year he becomes violent, could that be due to the intrinsic character of the powers?"—IS, XVIII, 19b: 8–12.

6.4.4 Evil Means Departing from the Golden Mean

"…If he holds on to the virtue of keeping to the middle way, could there be anything but good? Could anyone who keeps to the middle way not remain correct? Could anyone who keeps to the middle way have faults? …If he aims at the middle way he will naturally be correct. Generally speaking, to keep to the middle way is more important than to be correct. If one keeps to the middle way, one will be correct. But if one is correct, one will not necessarily be on the middle way."—*IC, III, 38b: 9–11. (YK, App. II, Hex. 41: 2).

"In the intercourse with people of higher ranks respect and docile obedience are required. Therefore when they are carried beyond the mean, they become flattery. In the intercourse with people of low ranks kindness and ease are required. Therefore when they are carried beyond the mean they become cheap familiarity."[51]—*IC, II, 6a: 10–11. (YK, Hex. 16: 2).

[50] *Mencius*, VI, I, VI, 5–6.

[51] This is a comment on YK, App. III, II, V, 41, also quoted above under Sect. 6.2.2.1 in the present chapter.

6.4.5 *Evil Is Necessary According to the Principle of Complementary Paris*

"All things in the world go in complementary pairs. Where there is yin there is also yang. Where there is good there is also evil. The cosmic energies which engender the good and the wicked are often suspended. They cannot be expected to produce the good only. When 60 per cent of the people are good there will be peace and order. When 60% of the people are wicked there will be anarchy and disorder. When 70 per cent of the people are good there will be great peace. When 70 per cent of the people are wicked there will be great disorder. Thus not even in the ages of Yao and Shun could there fail to be wicked people. [What is different], it seems to me, lies simply in the fact that in the age of Yao and Shun ritual, music, and laws were used to urge the people towards the good, thus fulfilling the way [of good government]. The expression [in the *Han Shu* or *History of the Han Dynasty* describing the ages of Yao and Shun] that people in entire neighbourhood groups were worthy to be raised to nobility indicates the fact that because of good education people were prevented from doing (lit. accomplishing) wicked deeds even though they wanted to. However, even in the time of Yao and Shun evil energies produced Chu and Chün[52] in their very homes, while at court the four evil ones remained for a long time."[53]—#IS, XV, 14b: 8–11 (c. 1080 A.D.).

For Ch'eng I's idea of complementary pairs see Sect. 3.2 above.

6.5 Some Principles of Worthy Living

6.5.1 *Cautiousness*

If the middle way and the timely action described above are to be adopted as norms of judgment, then it is imperative that cautiousness should be used. For the middle way is conceived as a path of moral conduct which is neither an excess nor a falling short, neither leaning on the one side nor on the other. But it is not always easy for a person to keep to such a mean. Moreover, when the mean is not kept, one tends to proceed farther and farther away until one goes towards a limit. When the limit is reached, according to the Confucian tradition, there is bound to be a change. Therefore, the best way is for a man to remain always on the middle way, and the only way to do it is by being cautious. The same applies to the norm of timely action. Timely action has been defined as doing the right thing at the right moment,

[52]Chu, son of the mythical Emperor Yao, who was made the feudal prince of Tan, was said to find his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation and in pursuing a proud oppressive course. Ref. *Shu King* II, IV, 1, p. 60. Shang Chün, son of the mythical Emperor Shun, was said to be unworthy of his father. Hence the latter passed the authority of the empire to Yü.

[53]*Shu King*, II, I, 3, p. 41.

and the right moment, as we said, means the totally of the living situation. To do the right thing at the right moment therefore requires a mental alertness that is fully conscious of everything going on in the environment and is able to bring one's moral conduct into complete adjustment with the circumstances. Hence again the need of cautiousness.

"When a time-period comes to its limit and the way comes to its end, according to natural law change is bound to take place. What shall the sage do when he comes to such a situation? The answer is: the sage alone is able to understand the principle of change before the end is reached, so that he will never have to come up against such a limit."—*IC, IV, 55b: 5–6. (YK, App. I, Hex. 64: 4).

[Text:] "The fourth line, undivided, shows us one who is being followed and who is obtaining [adherents]. Though he be firm and correct, there will be evil. If he be sincere, [however,] in his course, and make that evident, into what error will he fall?"

[Commentary:] "The subject of the fourth undivided line, with the gift of strength pertaining to the male principle occupies the highest position attainable by a minister. If he should obtain adherents at a time when he is being followed,[54] then though he be upright there will be evil. Here 'obtaining [adherents]' means to win the heart of the whole empire to follow oneself. The right way for a minister is to let all generous favours and severe measures proceed from the emperor, and to cause the hearts of the people to turn towards the ruler. If the people's hearts turn towards himself, then the position is dangerous and dubious; hence 'there will be evil'."

"But what shall a person do when he is in such a position? Simply this: that at heart he should keep his fidelity to his true self, in deeds he should remain in accord with the Tao, and in dealing with the situation he should use his wisdom; then 'what error will he fall into?' Among the ancients, some have done it: for instance I Yin, the Duck of Chou, and Chu-ke Liang. All these benefited the people by their virtuous measures, thus winning the following of the people. They obtained the following of the people in order to accomplish the tasks of their respective rulers, and bring about peace in the kingdom…. Therefore the people had faith in them and the rulers entertained no doubt about them. Though their positions were extremely high they did not arouse any suspicion of encroaching upon the rights of the emperor. Though their authority was great they did not commit the fault of grasping power. None but the sages and great worthies can do as they did. Next to them would be Kuo Tzu-i (697–781 A.D.) of the T'ang dynasty, whose sternness shocked his ruler but the latter did not suspect him of grasping power. He also was able to deal with such a situation by being faithful to his true self, and was therefore able to succeed without great faults. Who but the wise could have done so?"[55]—*IC, II, 10b: 4–12. (YK, Hex. 17: 4).

[54]The name of the hexagram is Sui, or "following".

[55]Cf. *IC, I, 1b: 8–10.

"In the time of 'successful accomplishment'[56] the urgent thing is to plan and take preventive measures against adversity and misfortune."—*IC, IV, 57a: 1–2. (YK, Hex. 63:4).

"The ruler must not merely hold in esteem the virtues of humility and meekness. He must balance them up with sternness and military power in order to make the empire submissive."—*IC, II, 3b: 12. (YK, Hex. 15: 5).

"The four undivided lines [from the bottom representing strong ministers] are in the ascendant and are advancing together. The subject of the fifth line, divided with his weak character occupies the position of the ruler. If he should try to hold them in control by force, it would be difficult to conquer them, and he would regret his action. The only way is to treat them with kindness and tolerance. Then the aggressors [Lit. the group of undivided lines] will find nowhere to exercise their strength. Thus the strong is lost in kindness and tolerance."

"Generally speaking, in managing strong [ministers] one may not use strength."—*IC, III, 13b: 2–3,8. (YK, Hex. 34: 5; App. II, Hex. 34: 5).

6.5.2 *Humility*

Humility as a principle of worthy living was much extolled by Laotze and developed in the *Book of Changes*. It is to this tradition chiefly that Ch'eng I owed his ides of Humility.

The Master Hsieh[57] had not seen Ch'eng I for one year. When he visited him, the latter asked, "Another year has lapsed since we last saw each other; what have you been doing?"

Hsieh answered and said, "Nothing except trying to do away with 'Pride'."

"Why?"

"Because careful examination reveals that [the root of] all troubles lies here. Only by subduing this sin can I hope to make any progress."

Ch'eng I nodded his head in agreement. Then he told fellow seekers who were present, "Here is a man who in his learning is able to carry out what was taught of old: 'To enquire with earnestness and to apply the content of his meditation to himself'."[58]—WS, XII, 5a: 6–8.

[Text]: "It is the way of the heaven to diminish the full and augment the humble."

[Ch'eng I's Comment]: "Here the movement of the heavenly bodies is taken for illustration: that which is full is diminished, and that which is 'humble' is augmented; for example the sun, the moon, and the yin and yang energies."

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[56]Chi Chi, or `Successful accomplishment' is the name of the Hexagram commented on.

[57]Hsieh Liang-tao, Ch'eng I's disciple.

[58]*Analects*, XIX, VI.

[Text]: "It is the way of the earth to overthrow the full and replenish the humble."

[Comment]: "The earth is taken for illustration: places which are high are overthrown and become low-lying, while places that are low are fed by streams and become filled."

[Text]: "Spiritual beings inflict calamity on the full and bless the humble."

[Comment]: "Spiritual beings are indications of the creative process. On those who are full they inflict calamities and on those who are humble they give blessings. All cases where excess is followed by diminution and want by increase can serve as illustrations."

[Text]: "It is the way of men to hate the full and love the humble."

[Comment]: "It is the way of men to hate the full and love the humble. Humility is a great virtue. The sage dealt with it at full length in order to warn against being full and encourage humility."—*IC, II, 1b: 3–12. (YK, App. I, Hex. 15:2).

"The [subject of the] fourth divided line occupies a position in the upper trigram right next to that of the ruler. The latter, [symbolized by] the fifth divided line, conducts himself in humility and meekness. Moreover, [the minister], symbolized by the third undivided line, is a person with great merits and achievements in whom the king trusts and whom the people hold in respect. Now the subject of the fourth line, situated just above him [and next below the king], must serve the ruler, who conducts himself in humility, with reverence and fear, and yield to the meritorious minister with humble gentleness. All his actions and measures will benefit from the spirit of humility with which they are carried out…. Because he dwells in a place of many fears and occupies a position which is above the able minister."—*IC, II, 3b: 1–4. (YK, Hex. 15–4).

"Opulence does not in itself entail error. It is man who in the time of opulence himself falls into error. If while enjoying opulence he is able to realize the difficulty and danger of the position, he will of course fall into no error. But if in opulence he is not able to realize the difficulty and danger of the position and be watchful and fearful, pride and love of extravagance will come forth in him. That is why there will be error."—*IC, I, 51b: 10–11. (YK, Hex. 14: 1).

"[The subject of] the third line, divided, occupies a position at the top of the lower trigram, which indicates that he is minister in an important office. The way for such a minister is to keep his excellence in obscurity and to ascribe everything that is good to the ruler, in order that he may remain lone and upright. For in this way the king will entertain no jealousy and he, the minister, will have fulfilled the virtue of meekness and humility."—*IC, I, 10a: 8–9. (YK, Hex. 2:3).

"To diminish those above to add to those below means an 'increase', [or benefit].[59] To take from those below to add to those above means a 'diminution', [or injury]. When those who are above others bestow favours upon those below, that is to act in accord with the idea of 'increase'. When they take from those below to add

[59]The idea of "increase" is derived from Hexagram no. 42, II. The idea of `diminution' is form Hexagram no. 41, Sun.

to themselves, that is 'diminution'. Take for instance the piling up of a mound: if one should diminish the top in order to broaden its base, then both the top and the base would be steady and firm; is that not our idea of 'increase' [or benefit]? If, however, one should take from the base to add to the height of the top, soon it would become dangerous and would fall; is that not what we mean by 'diminution' [or injury]? Therefore, 'diminution' means to diminish those below to add to those above. 'Increase' means the opposite."[60]—*IC, III, 36b: 6–9. (YK, Hex. 41).

"Every diminution and repression of what we have in excess to bring it into accordance with moral law is a lesson of 'diminution'."—*IC, III, 36b: 11. (YK, Hex. 41).

"When the gentleman ponders over the symbolism of Ch'ien,[61] which has the trigram for a mountain placed beneath that of the earth, which is equal to saying that the high is brought low and the low lifted high, he sees the idea of repressing the high and uplifting the low, and of diminishing those who have excess and adding to those who are lacking. When this idea is put in practice, it means that he takes from those who have much, to add to those who have little. He 'weighs' the amount of things to distribute equally among men, in order to be fair and just."—*IC, II, 2a: 6–8. (YK, App. II, Hex. 15).

[60]See also *IC, III, 40b: 3–5, 8–11.

[61]Hex. no. 15.

Chapter 7
The Twofold Way to Perfect Manhood

We have said that Ch'eng I is an ethical teacher and that his main concern is the achievement of perfect manhood. In the last chapter, we tried to elucidate the fundamentals of his ethical teaching. In the present chapter, we shall venture upon a systematisation of his ethical methodology. When he was only about twenty years of age, his methodology was already taking shape. It can be readily seen in his two famous pieces of literary work written about that time. One of these is entitled "What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?" The other is called "The Four Admonitions". Both of these can be found under the section on the "Goal of Education" below, with synopses of their main contents.

The ethical methodology of Ch'eng I is based on his idea of human nature which in turn is based on *Mencius* and the *Doctrine of the Mean.* His idea of human nature has been presented in Chap. 5 above, but the gist of that part of his idea which has direct bearing on the present subject may be briefly summarized as follows: man is born good because the core of his nature is natural law conferred by Heaven. Human nature is therefore essentially part of the universal moral order. Man has fallen from his state of original goodness because in his response to external stimuli he has let his passions go unrestrained. The principle of learning is to restore human nature to its original state and to enable it to fulfil all its possibilities. There are two types of human nature: that of the sage and that the ordinary man. The sage is born with such extra-fine physical endowments that the flesh provides him with few temptations. He becomes a sage by simply following out his own nature. The ordinary man is born with coarser physical endowments. He is therefore beset with many temptations. But he is equally entitled to attain perfect manhood, because his nature is as good as that of the sage. All that is required of him is that he should set his true self to be real master of the house and let it return to its oneness with natural law. This, Ch'eng I believed, is perfectly possible, because sage-kings like T'ang and Wu have done it.

Upon this theory of human nature Ch'eng I started to build his ethical methodology, the essentials of which may be outlined as follows:

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(1) The Goal of Learning
The goal of learning is not intellectual knowledge but perfect manhood. The perfect man is defined as one who fulfils himself by the complete development of his social personality. The ideal pattern of such a person is not the ecstatic or the hermit but the sage-king.

(2) The Scope of Learning
According to a famous saying by Ch'eng I[1], there is a twofold way which leads to perfect manhood, namely the achievement of knowledge and the cultivation of personality. These are mutually complementary and are actually two phases of one and the same process. The first is to know. The second is to do. To know is the first step. To fulfil is the final stage.

(3) The Doctrine of the Unity of Knowledge and Action
The two phases of knowledge and action are bound together by the theory that to know is to do. Knowledge entails action. "As soon as Li is penetrated (lit. probed to the depths)", said Ch'eng I, "one's own nature is fulfilled".[2] Why is that so? How did he justify his position? The primary thing to bear in mind is that this is not a general theory of the relation between any kind of knowledge and any kind of practice. It is a doctrine about the specific relation between moral knowledge and moral action. The object of moral knowledge is moral law. The highest achievement of moral knowledge as taught by Ch'eng I is by intuition. To know moral law by intuition is to fine light in it, to be convinced by it, to be delighted with it, and to become one with it. Having made moral law one's own mind, one naturally and gladly follows out all its dictates without effort. The obstacle to moral action is the self which stands between the true Self and moral law. But when one attains the stage of becoming one with Li, the obstacle of the self is no more existent, and one gladly does everything in accordance with moral law out of his own desires. For no longer is there any difference between the latter and the dictates of moral law. This doctrine was developed 400 years later by Wang Yang-ming (1472–1528 A.D.), and in the modern period by Dr. Sun Yat Sen (1866–1925), Father of the Chinese Republic.

(4) The First Phase of the Twofold Way: the Achievement of Knowledge
If, as has been said, knowledge entails action, and to know natural law is to achieve moral personality, then nothing is more important for the seeker after perfect manhood than to know natural law. Natural law may be found by the study of human relations and historical events, great lives and great teachings, one's own mind and things external to the mind, etc. But, above all, it is to be found in the teaching of the scriptures. In his search for natural law, the scholar must practice the intellectual discipline of rigorous thinking. For thinking leads to conviction and conviction gives one a spiritual anchorage. The reason why many Confucian scholars had eventually joined the ranks of

[1]IS, XVIII, 5b: 9.

[2]IS, XVIII, 9a: 5, quoted in Chap. 6.1.3.

"heresy" (i.e. Ch'anism), said Ch'eng I, was because they had not gained anything in their previous Confucian studies. If one by hard thinking really sees the truth, he will not desert his own belief to join another, but will even be ready to die for it. The highest achievement of knowledge is enlightenment, which comes to a person all of a sudden, like the experience of waking up from a dream. When one attains such a stage, he becomes one with natural law.

(5) The Second Phase of the Twofold Way: the cultivation of Personality
In the oft-quoted saying mentioned above, Ch'eng I said that "for the cultivation of personality, it is essential to practice the attitude of reverent devotion".[3] This, however, represented only one side of what he had in mind. The other side is given us in another saying in which he emphasized the importance of the accumulation of righteous deeds.[4] The cultivation of personality, then, requires both the practice of the attitude of reverent devotion and the accumulation of righteous deeds. The former represents what man does with himself. The latter represents what man does with life in its relationships. By the practice of reverent devotion, one frees oneself from selfish desires and restores his true nature. By the accumulation of righteous deeds, this nature is nurtured so that it grows into the maturity of the Life of the Spirit. For fuller explanation reference may be made to the notes under the specific titles below.

7.1 The Goal of Learning

The goal of learning, according to Ch'eng I, is not intellectual achievement but perfect manhood. This thesis is best presented in two pieces of literature written in his early life which are quoted here. The point is set forth so clearly that no special comment is needed. But it is significant to note that the opinion expressed in these writings remained one of his basic convictions throughout his life.

In these pieces of literature there may also be found a scheme of ethical methodology which, though written when he was about twenty years of age, already contains the main outline and most of the essential aspects which he later developed. For an understanding of the mental development of Ch'eng I, and for an insight into the general framework of his methodology, it is interesting to analyze their contents. The first of these, an essay entitled "What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?" was written in 1052 A.D. When he was actually only nineteen according to Western calculation. It reflects the influence of Chou Tun-i (1017–1073) under

[3] IS, XVIII, 5b: 9.

[4] Loc. cit. 19a: 1–2, 6.

whom he and his brother had studied. This is seen both in his theory of human nature and in that of the way of learning.[5] But it also reflects a creative mind which was working out its own system of thought.

"What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?"—A methodological analysis of the essay:

The goal of learning The goal of learning is perfect manhood, and is absolutely within the reach of every ordinary person.

Theory of human nature (1) Human nature is originally good because man is endowed with the finest energies of heaven and earth and is born with the five constant virtues; (2) Man's fall is occasioned by his nature giving way to the sway of the passions; and (3) The essential principle of learning is therefore to control one's passions and nourish one's nature.

The way of learning (1) To know one's goal and one's own nature, and to know by thinking. (2) To be true to one's own nature by various ways of self-cultivation: (a) By being convinced of the Way; (b) By determined efforts; (c) By concentration of the mind; (d) By returning to propriety through self-subjugation; and (e) By the transformation of character.

"What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?"—An Essay:

[Note in the text found under the title: "When he was just twenty Ch'eng I paid a visit to the Imperial University, where Hu Yüan (Hu An-ting) examined students in this subject. When Hu Yüan saw the essay by Ch'eng I, he was greatly amazed. He immediately interviewed him and invited him to a post of instructorship".].

The Goal of Learning[6] "Among the three thousand disciples of Confucius, Yen Hui alone was commended as loving to learn".[7] It goes without saying that the three thousand were well versed in all the different courses of study offered in those days such as the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of History* and the Six Arts. What is it then that Yen Hui alone is said to love to learn? It is none other than the way to sagehood (or perfect manhood). But can sagehood be attained by learning? Yes.

The Way to Perfect Manhood "What is the way to learn? The answer will be found in what follows. From Heaven-and-Earth's store of essences man alone obtains the cream of the five elements. His intrinsic nature is pure and still. In its unstirred state his mind is complete with the five constant virtues, namely: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and good faith. After taking up the bodily form, however, the mind is moved by contacting with external things. When the mind is moved, the seven passions are produced. These are pleasure, anger,

[5]Some ideas and terminologies in Ch'eng I's essay on "What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?" reflecting the influence of Chou Tun-i: (1) The idea that man is endowed with the finest of the five elements; (2) The statement that man's intrinsic nature is "still"; (3) The term wu hsing or "human nature with the five constant virtues"; (4) The methodological principle that "When one remains in the mean and in uprightness, and is able to be true to himself, he has attained sagehood"; etc. All these can be found on Chou Tun-i's main works, *The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*, and the *T'ung Shu* or *An Understanding of the Book of Changes*.

[6]These sectional divisions of the complete essay are made by the present writer, with topics added for the convenience of the reader.

[7]*Analects*, VI, II.

sorrow, joy, love, hate and lust. When the passions are ablaze and grow more and more unrestrained, man's nature deviates from the right.[8] Therefore the enlightened person disciplines his passions in order that they may remain in accord with the state of equilibrium. He rectifies his mind and nourishes his nature. That is why he is described as one who brings his passions under the rule of his nature. The stupid man on the other hand does not control them. He ceases to exercise any restraint upon them so that they become completely evil. They imprison his nature and bring it to naught. That is why he is described as one who brings his nature under the rule of his passions.

"The way of learning is none other than this: to rectify one's mind and to nourish one's own nature. When one remains in the mean and in uprightness, and is able to be true to himself, he has attained sagehood. In the process of learning, the gentleman must first become clear in his own mind, knowing definitely what he is to nourish,[9] and then make an effort to attain it. This is what is described as starting from understanding and finally arriving at one's true self.[10] Hence in learning one must fulfil his mind. Fulfilling his mind he will know his nature.[11] Knowing his nature, if he returns inward and is true to himself, he is a sage. Hence it is said in the *Great Plan*: '[The virtue of] thinking is understanding…. The result of understanding is perfect manhood'.[12]

"The way to be true to oneself is by having genuine belief in the Tao. Having genuine belief in the Tao one will follow it with resolution. Following it with resolution one will keep it firmly, never allowing the constant virtues such as benevolence, righteousness, faithfulness, and sincerity to be found wanting in his mind, cleaving to it in hurry and in frustration, in going out and in staying in, in talking and in silence, Having retained it for a long time without losing it, he will abide in it calmly and firmly.[13] Every movement of his countenance and every turn of his body will be exactly what is proper,[14] and there will be no chance for evil to be generated in the mind.

The Accomplishment of Yen Hui "Therefore with regard to what Yen Hui endeavoured to do, it is written, 'Look not at what is contrary to propriety; Listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety'.[15] With regard to his commendation

[8]This section has been quoted in Sect. 5.2.1 above. Here it is repeated so that the essay may be complete.

[9]Note in the text: "A variant reads: 'knowing what he is going toward'."

[10]*Doctrine of the Mean*, XXI.

[11]*Mencius*, VII, I, I, 1.

[12]*Shu King*, V, IV, 3, ii.

[13]*Mencius*, IV, II, XIV.

[14]Ibid. VII, II, XXXIII, 2.

[15]*Analects*, XII, I, 2.

by Confucius it is written, 'Whenever he laid hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not let it go'.[16] Again it is written, 'He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault'.[17] 'If anything that he did was not good, he was sure to become conscious of that; and when he knew it he did not do the thing again'.[18] This shows the genuineness of his love [for learning] and the way in which be learned it.

"His acts of looking, listening and speaking and his movements being all in accordance with propriety, wherein, then did he fall short of sagehood? It is in this: that whereas the prefect man apprehends without the exercise of thought, hits what is right without effort, and naturally and easily embodies the right way,[19] Yen Hui, on the other hand, had to exercise his thought before he apprehended and had to make an effort before he hit what is right. Therefore it is said that Yen Hui was but a second's distance (lit. a breath) behind the sage. Mencius said, 'He whose completed goodness is brightly displayed is called a great man. When this great man is transformed he is called a sage. When the sage is beyond our knowledge he is described as one who is mysterious.[20] One may say that Yen Hui's character had reached the stage of 'completed goodness brightly displayed'. Where he fell short was in the fact that he held on to the Tao but was not yet transformed by it. With his love for learning, had he been given a longer life, it would not have been long before he became transformed. That was why Confucius said, 'Unfortunately his appointed time was short and he died'.[21] For he was grieved at his not being given a chance to attain sagehood. By being transformed is meant that one enters fully into the spirit of the thing so that one apprehends naturally without exercising thought, and hits the right without making an effort. This is the same kind of attainment as that described by Confucius, 'At seventy I could follow what my heart desired without transgressing what was right'.[22]

"The question may perhaps be raised, 'Whereas [It is generally understood that] the perfect man is one who is born wise, you, on the other hand, maintain that perfect manhood may be attained by learning: is there a basis for the statement?' The answer is: Yes. Mencius said, 'Yao and Shun were what they were by nature, T'ang and Wu were so by returning to natural virtue'.[23] The sage who is what he is by nature is one who is born wise. The sage who is so by returning to natural virtue is one who knows by learning. Again it is said, Confucius was one who was born wise, Mencius was one who knew by learning. The truth of this was not understood by later scholars. They thought that sagehood was a matter of being born wise and

[16] *Doctrine of the Mean*, VIII.
[17] *Analects*, VI, II.
[18] YK, App. III, II, V, 42.
[19] *Doctrine of the Mean*, XX, 18.
[20] *Mencius*, VII, II, XXV, 6–8.
[21] *Analects*, VI, II.
[22] *Analects*, II, IV, 6.
[23] *Mencius*, VII, II, XXXIII, 1.

could not be attained by learning. The result of this was that the way of learning was lost. Instead of seeking the object of learning from within, scholars have been seeking it from without. They engage themselves in wide learning and forced memory, clever style and beautiful phraseology. Their words are flowery. But few if any have arrived at an understanding of the Tao. Thus it is that the learning of the present day is indeed different from what Yen Hui used to love."—#ICWC, IV, 1a–2a: 1 (A.D. 1052).

"The four Admonitions"—A methodological analysis[24]:

The goal of learning The goal of learning is perfect manhood.

Theory of human nature (1) Human nature is good and is endowed with knowledge of natural law; (2) Under the impact of external things the mind is led astray by selfish desires which results in the clouding over, and eventually the loss, of the original goodness in one's nature. Consequently man is put in a perilous position.

The way of learning The way of learning is to bring all the activities of the body under control, subduing all selfish desires in order to return to propriety or natural law. The idea is that since human nature is originally good, when selfish desires are eliminated or guarded off, what is left is the true moral self.

"The Four Admonitions: with Preface"[25]:

"When Yen Hui asked what were the steps of the process of subduing oneself and returning to propriety, the Master said, 'Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety'.[26] Now [looking, listening, speaking, and movement] these four are functions of the body. They come from within ('chung') in response to external things. To control the external activities is the way to nourish the inward [self or 'chung']. Yen Hui endeavoured to follow this teaching (lit. these words) in order to attain sagehood. In the same

[24]Chou Tun-i's influence is here particularly seen in the use of the word "still" in describing the state of the mind. Stillness of the mind was a major concept in Chou Tun-i's methodology. But Ch'eng I later preferred to use the term reverent devotion in its stead. Ref. IS, XVIII, 6b: 1–4, quoted in the present Sect. 7.5.1.

[25]This famous metrical prose poem is undated. But it appears from internal evidence to have been written rather early. For the word "chung" which later became a center of hot discussions is here used without any consciousness of the possible questions it might raise. It will be remembered that in the letters of Lü Ta-lin (*ICWC, V, 9b: 11–12a: 12) and in the recorded sayings of IS, XVIII (14b: 7–13, etc., dated between 1090 and 97) and elsewhere, the disciples desired Ch'eng I to admit that "chung" means the central self, which he consistently refused to do. He insisted that "chung" is to be interpreted as a state of mental equilibrium. Here, however, the word "chung" is used to represent some kind of an inward identity be it the mind, or central self, or something else. But it is definitely not used to mean a "state" of the mind which he later maintained it should.

Moreover, the theme developed here is practically the same as that of the essay on "What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?" written in 1052. I should not be surprised if this prose poem was written at about the same time as the former, or soon afterwards.

[26]*Analects*, XII, I.

way later scholars who aspire to learn to be sages should [clasp it firmly] as if wearing it on their breasts[27] without losing hold of it. Hence this prose poem for my own warning.

"**The Admonition on Looking**" The mind is originally empty and pure. In responding to external things no trace of them need be left upon it. To manage it properly there is an important [method to be employed], of which an example may be found in the case of looking. When [the eyes] are clouded [by selfish desires], the inward [mind] is changed [from its original purity]. If, however, one exercises control over its external activities to keep quiet its inward state, this is to practice the subduing of the self and the returning to propriety: after a long-continued effort he will become true to himself.

"The Admonition on Listening" The natural law that every man holds[28] is originally [imprinted] in his Heaven-endowed nature. Through the temptations of his mental faculties and the influence of external things the [original] uprightness was lost. Eminent were the pioneers of enlightenment, who after knowing the goal of perfection where they should rest, had a definite purpose in life.[29] In order to guard against evil and preserve their true selves,[30] they looked not at what was contrary to propriety.

"**The Admonition on speaking**" When the mind of man is stirred, expressions are given to it through words. If [in speaking] one refrains from giving utterance to hasty and reckless words, his inward mind remains quiet and concentrated. Moreover, speech is the central source [lit. the hinge and spring][31] from which springs war and peace. From that also emanate good and bad luck, glory and disgrace. When speech is made defective by being too casual it becomes boastful and loose. When it is made defective by being loquacious it becomes disconnected and trifling. When one's speech is reckless people are offended. When what is uttered is perverse the reply will be similarly wrong. Pay respect therefore to this admonition: 'speak not what is contrary to propriety'.

"**The Admonition on movement**" The man of wisdom knows the springs of things,[32] therefore he tries to be true to himself at [the earliest stir of] thought. The man of moral purpose is rigorous in action, therefore he keeps himself[33] in his activities [from unrighteousness]. He who obeys natural law will enjoy fullness of life. He who follows selfish desires will be in danger. In hurry [and in frustration][34] one should never forget [this admonition]; with fear and trembling one should keep

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[27]*Doctrine of the Mean*, VIII.

[28]For this rendering of the term ping i ref. Chu Hsi's comments on *Mencius*, VI, I, VI, 8, which I believe comes nearest to what Ch'eng I understood about the quotation from *Shih King*.

[29]*Great Learning*, Text, 2.

[30]YK, App. IV, I, II, 5.

[31]YK, App. III, I, VIII, 42.

[32]YK, App. III, II, V, 41.

[33]*Mencius*, IV, I, XIX, 1.

[34]ICWC, IV, 1a: 13f.

hold of [one's true self]. Whether by learning or by being born wise[35] the sage and the worthy arrive finally at the same goal [of perfection]."—#ICWC, IV, 4a: 10–5a: 2.

"In the study of the *Analects*, if before one studies one is a particular kind of person, and after studying it one remains the same old person, then it is as if one had never made the study."—IS, XIX, 11a: 9–10.

It was again asked, "What is the difference between true manhood and sagehood?"

He said, "… The word Jen or true manhood may be used to include both the higher and lower [stages of moral achievement], whereas sagehood represents its highest limit. The sage is the perfect [pattern] of manhood…. When the perfection of manhood is reached, nothing more can be added. When a person does one thing which is benevolent, we say that he is Jen (benevolent); when he has fulfilled the requirements of true manhood, we also say that he is Jen (a true man). That is why I said that the word Jen may be used to include both the higher and lower stages of moral achievement. However, in the case of the other saying by Confucius, 'The sage and the true man: how dare I rank myself with them?'[36] The two words, sagehood and true manhood, are co-extensive in sense. In general we may say that he who fulfills the requirements of true manhood is a sage. For no one except a sage can fulfill them."—IS, XVIII, 1a: 8, 10–13.

It was asked, "[Confucius said,] 'If some years were added to my life, beginning at fifty I would devote myself to the study of the *Book of Changes*, and then I might come to be without great faults.'[37] Why is it that the Sage needed to study the *Book of Changes* first before he could be without great faults?"

He said, "Former scholars said that Confucius had to study the *Book of Changes* first before he could be without great faults: that is a great misreading of the text. How can the Sage ever have faults? If he had to wait till he had studied the *Book of Changes* before he could be without great faults, it is equal to saying that before he studied it he did have great faults. Moreover, if the Sage had not yet studied the book, how could he have known that he was going to be without faults after studying it? The true explanation, it seems to me, is that in the time of Confucius students of the *Book of Changes* diverged [in their interpretations], and the true teaching of the book was not made clear. Confucius had edited other scriptures. But the *Book of Changes* he had not expounded. Therefore he told the disciples, 'It some years were added to my life, beginning at fifty I would devote myself to the

[35] Ibid. 1b: 10–13.

[36] *Analects*, VII, XXXIII.

[37] *Analects*, VII, XVI. Arthur Waley's rendering reads, "The Master said: Give me a few more years, so that I may have spent a whole fifty in study, and I believe that after all I should be fairly free from error." The translator adds the following note: "In common with most scholars, I follow the Lu version here. The Ku version introduces a reference to the *Book of Changes*. But there is no reason to suppose that the *Changes* had in Confucius' time been philosophized, or that he regarded it as anything but a book of divination." See Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*.

study of the *Book of Changes*'. That is to say, he expected to collate the book at fifty so that those who came to study it might be without great faults…."—IS, XVIII, 20b: 8–13.

7.2 The Scope of Learning

"For the cultivation of personality it is essential to practice the attitude of reverent devotion. For making progress in learning it is essential to be engaged in the achievement of true knowledge."—IS, XVII, 5b: 9.

It was asked: "[Mencius said with regard to the cultivation of the life of the spirit that] 'one must be actively engaged in it', does that mean that one must practice the attitude of reverent devotion?"[38]

He said, "…To be actively engaged in the cultivation of the life of the spirit requires the 'accumulation of righteous deeds'. The more practice of the attitude of reverent devotion without the accumulation of righteous deeds means that one is not 'actively engaged'".

It was asked, "What is the difference between reverent devotion and righteousness?"

He replied, "Reverent devotion is an attitude which one holds within himself, while righteousness is to know what is right and what is wrong and to act according to moral truth."—IS, XVIII, 19a: 1–2, 6.

"For the explanation of the attitude of reverent devotion, nothing is comparable to the words of the Sage.[39] I mean what is written in the *Book of Changes*: 'The gentleman by holding the attitude of reverent devotion rectifies his inner [life]; and by adhering to righteousness shapes his external acts'. Only the 'rectifying of the inner [life]' adequately expresses the meaning of being centered in one…."—#IS, XV, 20a: 5–6 (c. 1080 A.D.). Also quoted in 7.5.1 of the present chapter.

"… 'The gentleman by centering his mind in the attitude of reverent devotion rectifies his inner [life], and by cleaving to righteousness shapes his external [acts].' When the attitude of reverent devotion is held on to, his inner [life] is rectified. When righteousness is lived out his external [acts] are shaped. Righteousness is lived out in visible conduct, but righteousness is not external to man."—*IC, I, 12a: 11–12. (YK, App. IV, II, II, 6).

[Text:] "The Master said 'The gentleman advances in virtue and cultivates the whole sphere of his duty…. He knows the goal to be reached, and reaches it, thus showing himself in accord with the first springs [of things]; he knows the end to be rested in, and rests in it, thus preserving his righteousness in accordance with that end…."

[38] *Mencius*, II, I, II, 9–16. See passage in 7.5.2 of the present chapter.

[39] Note in the text: "The phrase 'the words of the Sage' is not found in one variant."

[Comments:] "… 'He knows the goal to be reached, and reaches it: 'this is 'the achievement of true knowledge.'[40] It means that he first seeks to know the goal to reach then tries to reach it…. 'He knows the end to be rested in, and rests in it: 'this means putting [true knowledge] into practice with earnestness.[41] When he knows the end to be rested in, he presses on with earnestness until he rests in it. This is the beginning and end of learning…."[42]—*IC, I, 4b: 3–4, 7–9. (YK, App. IV, I, II, 6).

7.3 The Doctrine of the Unity of Knowledge and Action

It was asked, "Do knowledge and practice go together?"

He answered, "Speaking on the plane of the ordinary man, when he knows that he must not do things contrary to propriety, he has to make an effort [in order to carry it out]. But when he knows that he must not bore through people's walls to steal, he does not require any effort. From this it is seen that knowledge varies in depth. There is a saying of antiquity: 'He is a gentleman who follows natural law with a glad heart'. If one has to make an effort, it means that he simply knows that he ought to follow natural law, but he is not glad to do it. But when he has reached the stage of being glad, then to follow natural law means joy, and not to follow means no joy. Why should he not follow? There is no need to make any effort. But as regards the sage who without an effort hits what is right and apprehends without the exercise of thought,'[43] he belongs to a higher level."—IS, XVIII, 4a: 3–7.

"… After all, one must know before he can practice…. To 'seek to be sincere in thoughts' before the 'achievement of knowledge'[44] is to skip over a prerequisite step. It is true a learner should make efforts. But without knowledge how can he put things into practice? If things are put into practice simply by [strenuous] efforts how can that endure long? But if he knows natural law clearly, he will naturally be glad to follow it. Human nature is originally good. To follow natural law is a reasonable course for him, and ought not to be difficult. But man in his ignorance tries to have his own arrangement of things that is why he finds it difficult…. The learner must truly know. When he knows that a thing is right, he calmly works it out."—IS, XVIII, 4b: 13–5a: 1, 5–7, 11.

Someone said, "I have been asked, 'a learner ought to know first the great essentials (lit. root) of the Way, but how are they to be found?' I told him that there are the relationships of ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brother

[40] *Great Learning*, Text, 4. Legge rendered as "extension" or "completion" of knowledge.

[41] The achievement of true knowledge and earnest practice, or knowing and doing are a pair of ideas much discussed in the history of Chinese ethics.

[42] Cf. IS, XVIII, 22b: 7; 7b: 6–12.

[43] *Doctrine of the Mean*, XX, 18.

[44] *Great Learning*, the text, 4.

and brother, and friend and friend: to perform gladly [the duties of] these five is the essential".

He (Ch'eng I) said, "This is indeed true. But how can one be glad? Gladness cannot be achieved by effort. One must first know before he is able to be glad. Therefore practice must be preceded by knowledge. Not only is practice difficult. Knowledge is also difficult. The *Shu King*[45] said, 'It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing'. That is indeed true. But knowing is also difficult. By way of illustration: if a man wants to go [from this city] to the capital, he must first know by which gate to leave the city and which road to take, before he can get there. If he does not know, even though he has the desire to go, what goal will he reach?"—IS, XVIII, 4b: 7–12.

"The Way of the sages… is not really difficult. It is simply [a matter of] people not being willing to practice it."—IS, XVIII, 9a: 13f.

"… When knowledge is deep, practice is sure to be thorough. No one ever knows without being able to practice. To know without being able to practice is an indication that the knowledge is superficial. One does not eat poisonous herbs because he is hungry.[46] One does not throw himself in the fire or water, because he knows what the result would be. The reason why man does evil is simply because he does not know."—#IS, XV, 16b: 7–9.

7.4 The First Phase of the Twofold Way: The Achievement of Knowledge

7.4.1 Knowledge Through the Investigation of Li

(For a presentation of Ch'eng I's thesis with regard to this subject, the reader is referred to Sect. 2.3.3 above.).

7.4.2 Knowledge Through Study

7.4.2.1 The Purpose of Study

The main purpose of the study of books is to acquire an extensive knowledge of the words and deeds of great men of the past so that by an accumulation of such learning one may come to the understanding of natural law.

It was asked, "When a person has set his mind on learning, but finds his intellect obscured and his strength insufficient, what should he do?"

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[45]IV, VIII, sec. 2: 2, p. 116.

[46]A parable from the *Chan Kuo Ts'e*. The herb is called wu hui in Chinese, also called wu t'ou.

He answered and said, "There is only one thing which he can do: he must achieve knowledge. By achieving knowledge his intellect will gradually become clear. Never has there been a man who has persisted in thinking through a matter without success. When the intellect is clear strength will naturally increase".

"But how can one achieve knowledge?" asked the questioner.

He said, "By the understanding of natural law (Li). This may be done by an extensive knowledge of the words and deeds of men of the past. When such knowledge is extensive enough one will understand law. However, it all depends on whether one is willing to make strenuous efforts."—IS, XVIII, 5b: 10–12.

"A man's 'accumulation of virtue' becomes 'large' by learning. [The way to learn] is to know extensively the words and deeds of the sages and worthies of antiquity: studying their acts in order to see their practical lives, investigating their words in order to know their minds: and knowing these things and making them one's own in order to accumulate and fulfill one's virtue."—*IC, II, 39b: 2–4. (YK, App. II, Hex. 26).

7.4.2.2 The Study of Scriptures

It is the scriptures that contain the Tao. Therefore, the study of the scriptures is far more important than the study of all other books. The scriptures that Ch'eng I specially recommended to learners were the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, the *Works of Mencius*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Book of Changes*, and the *Ch'un Ch'iu* or the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. The learner should begin with the *Great Learning* which is the gate by which one enters into Confucian studies. Then, he should study the *Analects* and *Mencius* before he goes on to anything else. The book of *Ch'un Ch'iu* requires the previous study of at least one more scripture besides the first three just mentioned.

The sole purpose of scriptural studies is to grasp the Tao. The study of the texts and the understanding of semantics may be important, but they are not the final object. To know everything else without grasping the Tao is a sheer waste of time. A famous parable was told in the *Han Fei Tzu* to the effect that the man of Ch'u owned a pearl of great value. He kept it in a casket made of rare wood and decorated with all kinds of jade and precious stones. He sold the pearl to the man of Cheng. The latter took the casket and returned the pearl. Ch'eng I used this parable to warn his disciples that they must not leave out what is most important in the study of the scriptures.

"Letter to Fang Yuan-ts'ai":

"The way of the Sages is as level as a highway. The only difficulty for the learner is that he does not find the gate [to enter]. Once the gate is found, there is no place too far away for him to reach. The gate to enter is the scriptures. Many there are who study the scriptures. But almost everyone commits the same error of 'retaining

the casket and returning the pearl'.[47] It is the scriptures that contain the Way. If after studying the texts and understanding the semantics one never grasps the Way, all he gets will be simply dregs."—*ICWC, App. 3a: 1–4.

"Investigation of Li through [the study of] scriptures."—#IS, XV, 12a: 5 (c. 1080 A.D.).

"When I (T'ang Ti) first saw the Master, I asked him what a first learner ought to do. He said, 'The gate by which a first learner enters into virtue is the *Great Learning*. Learners of today owe a great deal to the preservation of this work. The *Analects* and *Mencius* come next.'"—IS, XXII, A, 1a: 3–4.

Chou Kung-hsien (Pai-wen) asked: "How can the learner gain from his studies?"

He said, "Take the sayings of the sages and brood over them. After long practice of this you will naturally gain something. You ought to examine the *Analects* closely. Take the questions of the disciples as if they were your own questions; take the answers of the sage as if you were listening to him today, and you will naturally gain something. Even if Confucius and Mencius came back to life, their teaching would not be more than this (*Analects*). If in the *Analects* and *Mencius* you can search deeply and brood over things, the outcome of such a discipline will be very helpful to the growth of character."—IS, XXII A, 2a: 8–10.

"The *Doctrine of the Mean* has an everlasting flavour. You must certainly examine and get the taste of it."—IS, XVIII, 30a: 4.

"Letter to Mr. Hsieh Chin-t'ang":

"… If you want to work on the *Book of Changes*, first study the text repeatedly until you know it thoroughly. Then read the literature about it by these three persons only, namely, Wang Pi (226–249 A.D.), Mr. Hu (Hu Yüan, 993–1059 A.D.), and Wang An-shih (1021–1086 A.D.). [Read these] with a view to comprehending it. Other people's expositions of the *Book of Changes* are of no value. They waste your time…."—*ICWC, V, 14b: 8–9. Cf. IS, XIX, 1b: 8–9.

"To study the *Ch'un Ch'iu* or *Spring and Autumn Annals* is also good. In every sentence some matter is taken up and its right and wrong seen. This is also an important way of investigating the Li…. I have told learners first to study the *Analects* and the *Mencius*, then another scripture, then the *Ch'un Ch'iu*."—#IS, XV, 16a: 11–13. Cf. 11b: 2–3.

7.4.2.3 The Right Attitude Towards Rhetoric and Writing

If the goal of learning is to attain perfect manhood, then rhetoric is unimportant if not actually injurious.

Someone asked, "Is literary composition injurious to [the seeking after] the Tao?"

He said, "It is. In writing a composition if one does not concentrate his mind, his work will not be polished enough. But if he concentrates his mind upon a confined

[47]From a parable told in the introductory notes of the present subsection.

area, how can it also be equally expansive with Heaven and Earth? It is written, 'By finding amusement in things (of mere pleasure) one ruins one's aims'.[48] Literary composition is a kind of finding amusement in things."—IS, XVIII, 42b: 3–4. Cf. *ICWC, V, 7a: 4–5, quoted above.

"In ancient times there was only one kind of learning. Today we have three, not counting [the Buddhist] heresy: the first is rhetoric, the second is semantics, and the third is the Confucian learning. He who aims at the Tao cannot dispense with the Confucian learning."—IS, XVIII, 4b: 3–4.

7.4.3 *From Thinking to Conviction*

"… The study of scriptures is the best learning. But if a man gains nothing for himself, the scriptures are no more to him than empty words even though he should have studied all the five classics."—IS, I, 2a: 5–6.

"A Book Inscription":

"Chew the essence. Digest the substance. Think carefully. Comprehend wholly."—*ICWC, App. 2b: 12–13.

"There are two ways of believing, to believe on the authority of another person, and to believe on the ground of one's own conviction. Take for example the relationship of the seventy disciples to Confucius: when they heard his teaching, they held it fast all through their lives. But this does not necessarily mean that they knew why one thing was right and another thing wrong. This is to believe on the authority of another person. But what the learner should do is to believe by his own conviction. Once anything is believed by conviction, it cannot be taken away."—IS, XVIII, 5a: 13ff.

"Many Confucian scholars have joined the ranks of heresy (Ch'anism) eventually, not because they wished to do so, but because they could not help it. For being desperate in their efforts, they looked for rest, but found none, because what they knew gave them no anchorage. Therefore when they saw that other people had a way, they could not help following it. This is like a man going on a highway. When the way is level without any obstacle, he does not look for a path. But when he is confronted with a mountain, or a river, or some other obstructions which prevent him from going forward, then at the sight of a by-path, he gladly follows it. But why should a Confucian scholar meet with obstructions? Because he does not practice the 'achievement of knowledge'. If he knows what he is seeking for and attains it, then nothing can distract him. A man who is staying in a strange land where he finds no place to settle down, when he learns that such and such a place is peaceful and such and such a place not, he will go to the place where it is peaceful. But if he has his own home, when he is told that somebody else's home is more restful, he will certainly not leave his own to go there. Therefore the reason why

[48] *Shu King*, V, V, 2.

some Confucian scholars have eventually joined the ranks of heresy is simply that they had not really gained anything in their own Way. Though they had learned about it they never really possessed it."—#IS, XV, 10a: 11–10b: 4.

"[Confucius said]: 'If a man in the morning hears the right Way, he may die in the evening without regret'.[49] If a man has such a determination, he will not be willing to rest even for one day in a place where he should not be resting [i.e. the heresy]…. If he does not have this determination, it is because he has not seen the real Li. By the real Li I mean the right and wrong that one really sees. Whenever the real Li is grasped in the mind, the person must be different. That which the ears hear and the mouth speaks, the mind does not really see. If [the mind] really sees, then the person is not willing to rest in a place where he ought not to rest…. Take for example a scholar: if anyone should try to force him to be a thief by threatening to kill him, he will not do it…. Or a man who has been injured by a tiger: when people talk about the tiger, even a child knows that it is an object of fear, but none feels it so much as the man who has been injured. Dread is shown in his countenance, and true fear is expressed, because he really sees [what a tiger means]… Some ancients laid down their lives [for the sake of the Way]. Unless they really saw, how could they have done so? They must have really seen that life is not weightier than righteousness, and that life is not more worthwhile (lit. worth abiding in) than death. Therefore there were those who sacrificed their lives in order to fulfill true manhood. In so doing they were simply fulfilling the right."—#IS, XV, 3b: 10–4a: 1, 4–5, 6–8. Cf. IS, XVIII, 5a: 7–9.

"I said formerly that among the heretics (Confucianists who had turned Ch'anists) there might be some who are wise. They might have taken up a temporary refuge there because they have actually found no home of their own. But after thinking it over I feel that they are after all unwise…. [The Ch'anists] practice things like the disfiguring of the body,[50] the suspension of association with fellow men, and the annulment of the relationships between ruler and minister, father and son, etc. If [the heretics] were wise, they would not [for a moment] feel at home there. The use of foreign terms and the wearing of strange vestments might be tolerated on the ground that the usages of the originating country [of the heresy] are followed. But in matters of the human person and its relationships how can any differences be tolerated?"—#IS, XV, 9b: 13–10a: 3.

7.4.4 Enlightenment, or Becoming One with Li

"He who has not known the Way is like a drunken man. During the time when he is drunk, there is nothing that he dares not to do. But when he wakens up, he is

[49] *Analects*, IV, VIII.

[50] He is referring to the scarring of the head done when a monk takes vows. This from the Confucian point of view is violating the teaching about filial piety.

ashamed of everything that he has done. Before a man is acquainted with the learning [of the sages], he considers himself to lack nothing. But after he is so acquainted, he is astonished and frightened when he looks back to what he has done in former days."—IS, XVIII, 29b: 11–12.

Someone asked, "How should one learn in order to attain enlightenment?"

He replied, "Nothing is more important than the 'achievement of knowledge'.[51] If one is able to practice the 'achievement of knowledge' he will think, and thinking will bring him clearer understanding day by day until he arrives at [complete] enlightenment. What does it profit to learn without enlightenment? Yes, what is the purpose of learning at all? [It is written]: 'The virtue of thinking is understanding…. The result of understanding is sagacity.'[52]"—IS, XVIII, 4a: 1–2.

"The sage is one with natural law. Therefore he neither goes in excess nor falls short, but always keeps to the mean. All other people deal with this law with the mind.[53] Therefore the worthy man often overshoots the mark while the unworthy often falls short of it."—IS, XXIII, 2b: 9–10.

"[Mencius said, 'He whose completed goodness is brightly displayed is called a great man. When this great man is transformed he is called a sage.'][54]. The phrase 'when this great man is transformed' means that natural law becomes one with the self. He who is not yet transformed is like a man who holds a ruler with which to measure things; he will yet make many mistakes. But when a person is transformed he himself becomes the measuring rod, and the measuring rod is himself."—#IS, XV, 11a: 3–4 (c. 1080 A.D.).

"When a 'great man becomes transformed'[55] his self and natural law become one. These being one there is no more self."—#IS, XV, 1a: 8.

7.5 The Second Phase of the Twofold Way: The Cultivation of Personality

Ch'eng I's general prescription for the cultivation of personality was derived from a text in the *Book of Changes* which says: "The gentleman by holding the attitude of reverent devotion rectifies his inner [life]; and by adhering to righteousness shapes his external acts".[56] The cultivation of personality must thus begin with the rectification of the inner life and culminate with the shaping of external acts. The way to rectify the inner life is the practice of the attitude of reverent devotion, while the method of shaping external acts is persistent loyalty to righteousness.

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[51] *The Great Learning*, the Text.

[52] *Shu King*, V, IV, p. 141.

[53] Hence their mind and natural law are not one.

[54] *Mencius*, VII, II, XXV, 6–7.

[55] Ibid.

[56] YK, App. IV, II, II, 6.

7.5.1 *The Practice of the Attitude of Reverent Devotion*

The term "reverent devotion" represents an attempt to render the Chinese character ching, which has been variously translated by Dr. Hu Shih as "seriousness", and by Dr. Bodde as "attentiveness".[57] Ching originally and chiefly connects the attitude of reverence shown by an inferior towards his superior, which in the early times naturally includes the attitude shown by human beings towards spiritual beings. It is also used to denote the care and devotion shown by a person while performing the duties entrusted to him by his superior. Then by association it is extended to include the attitude of respect a person holds towards his inner self. In the *Analects*, it was used in all these senses. In *Mencius*, though it was also used in all the three senses, its use in the first sense is much more common than the others. In the *Book of Changes*, the only significant use of the word was seen in Appendix IV in the text just quoted. The sense in which it was used there is the third one: namely one's attitude of respect towards the inner self. This is also the main sense in which Ch'eng I, Ch'eng Hao and the Neo-Confucianists after them used the word.

The term "reverent devotion" is adopted in our translation because its connotation is broad enough to include all the three different senses. One can be reverently devoted to his superior to whom one owes reverence. One can be reverently devoted to one's duty. And one can also be reverently devoted to the care of one's inner life, and the natural law which is revealed in one's inner nature.

The ways in which a person may practice the attitude of reverent devotion, as taught by Ch'eng I, includes firstly a concentration of mind. When the mind is concentrated, it is free from distractions and worries, and remains still, clear, and peaceful. Secondly, one is advised to guard off passions and selfish desires so that the true inner nature may be preserved. Thirdly, one should in a similar way conquer himself in order to return to the Heavenly Law which is in him. Lastly, as one goes out into active life, one can still practice the attitude of reverent devotion by detaching oneself from emotional disturbances. The mind of the sage, he said, is like a mirror. The mirror reflects the beauty and ugliness of things without retaining any trace of them. Similarly, the sage may be angry with a wicked person. But he is angry in such a rational and objective way that his own mind is not affected at all.

In his conversations about reverent devotion Ch'eng I warned his disciples not to mix it up with stillness of mind, which was emphasized in the Buddhist way of meditation. Reverent devotion will bring about stillness of mind. But it is different from, and more than, stillness. It is the preparation for an outgoing life and not an annihilistic enjoyment of the emancipation of the mind.

Being centred in one "The primary concern for the scholar is of course his mind.[58] Same propose to reject all contact with the world (lit. hearing and seeing) and all learning and thinking. What is [the Taoist practice of] renouncing

[57]Ref. Fung, *Short History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 286.

[58]Here the wor chih in the phrase hsin chih is purposely left untranslated. It must not be literally translated into "Purpose", because Ch'eng I could not have that in mind in this context.

understanding and discarding knowledge. Some propone to reject all mental activation, being distressed by their confusing and disturbing effects [on the inner life]. That will require the [Buddhist] practice of sitting for quiet meditation and entering into the fixed state of contemplation. The mind may be likened to a mirror. It is the normal function of the mirror to give reflection to all things. It is difficult to prevent it from doing so. In the same way the mind cannot but give response to the stimulation of all things. It is also difficult to prevent it from having mental activities. If one wants to do this,[59] there is only one way, and that is for the mind[60] to have a centre (chu). How can it have a centre? Only in this way: by maintaining an attitude of reverent devotion. When the mind has a centre, it becomes vacant and clear: because no evil is able to enter in. When it has no centre, it becomes filled: because thoughts and passions (lit. things) will take away its space. When a jar[61] is already filled with water, not even the waters of the rivers and the seas can have a chance to penetrate into it. How can it be other than 'vacant and clear'? But when there is no water in it, then water will not stop from flowing in. How can it help being filled?

"We may say in general that the mind cannot be occupied with two things [at the same time]. When it is occupied with one thing, no other thing can come in. Because there is the thing there to serve as its centre. If when the mind is centered in one thing, it can be saved from the distress of the confusion and disturbance of thoughts and passions, how can there be any such distress if the mind is centered in reverent devotion? By reverent devotion I mean to be centered in one (chu i). By one I mean not allowing the mind to run hither and thither. Let every one ponder over the meaning of centering in one. When it is one, then there can be no second or third thing there.[62]

"For the explanation of the attitude of reverent devotion noting is comparable to the words of the sage.[63] I mean what is written in the *Book of Changes*: 'The gentleman by holding the attitude of reverent devotion rectifies his inner [life]; and by adhering to righteousness shapes his external acts.'[64] Only the rectifying of the inner [life] adequately expresses the meaning of being centered in one. As to not daring to cheat, not daring to treat others with rudeness, not doing wrong in secret,[65] etc., all these are implications of the attitude of reverent devotion. One needs only hold on to this attitude for his own nourishment; when this is practiced

[59]Note in the text: "A variant does not have this clause."

[60]Note in the text: "A variant reads, 'for the person'."

[61]An earthenware jar with a small mouth.

[62]Note in the text: "A variant reads, 'Without centering in one, there will be the second and the third things there'."

[63]Note in the text: "The phrase 'the words of the Sage' is not found in one variant."

[64]YK, App. IV, II, II, 6.

[65]Pu k'uei wu lou, a quotation from *Shih King* meaning not to be ashamed of oneself even in front of the dark corner of the house. Popular use had taken it to mean 'not doing wrong even in the dark room'.

long enough, the Heavenly Law in himself will naturally become clear."—#IS, XV, 19b: 10–20a: 7 (c.1080 A.D.).

"Formerly Lü Ta-lin (Yü-shu) asked about a particular problem: he had been suffering from the disturbance caused by thoughts and worries. I answered and told him that the trouble lay in the fact that his mind was not centered in something. It is centered in the attitude of reverent devotion, there would not be any more disturbance."—IS, XVIII, 7b: 2.

Someone asked, "How can one hold the attitude of reverent devotion?"

He said, "By being centered in one".

Su Ping (Chi-ming) asked, "I have often suffered from an unsettled state of mind. Sometimes it has happened that before one worry (lit. thing) is disposed of, other worries grew up like weeds. What is your advice?"

He said, "Beware. This is the early sign of not being true to yourself. You must practice. Keep on practicing until you can be centered in one, then all will be well. No matter whether you are dealing with worries or duties, it is always essential to be centered in one."— IS, XVIII, 15b: 7–9.

Guarding against evil "The attitude of reverent devotion entails guarding against evil. "Guarding against evil and 'preserving the true self'[66] may appear to be two different things. But in fact they are one and the same. When evil is kept out the true self will of course be preserved. In this world of our experience there is good and there is evil. To do away with good is equal to being evil. To do away with evil is equal to being good. It is like a man going through the door, when he is not out then he is in. Either he is in or he is out, there is no other alternative."—IS, XVIII, 3a, 6–8.

"In the *Book of Changes* it is written: 'Guarding against evil he preserves his true self.'[67] When evil is kept out the true self will be preserved of itself. It is like the case of a man who owns a house. If he leaves the broken walls unrepaired, it is impossible to guard against brigands. A brigand comes in from the east, he chases him out, only to find another coming in from the west. He sooner is one man chased out than another is found coming in. it is better for him to repair his walls, then brigands will come no more. This explains why it is desirable to guard against evil."—IS, XV, 20a: 8–9 (c. 1080 A.D.).

> [Text]: "… Guarding against evil he preserves his true self…"
>
> [Comment]: "…Being without fault he need only guard against evil. When evil is kept out, the true self is preserved…"—*IC, I, 4a: 18; 4b: 1. (YK, App. IV, I, II, 5).

The subjugation of the self "In looking, listening, speaking and acting, not to do anything contrary to natural law, this is propriety. For propriety is natural law. Whatever is not in accord with the law of Heaven is selfish desire. [Under the sway of this desire] even if a man should intend to do good, [what he does] will still be

[66]YK, App. IV, I, II, 5.

[67]YK, App. IV, I, II, 5.

contrary to propriety. Where there is no human desire, there will be nothing but the law of Heaven."—#IS, XV, 1b: 11–12 (c. 1080 A.D.).

"… No gentleman is greater in strength than he who is able to conquer himself and return to propriety. There is a saying of antiquity: 'The strong man is he who overcomes himself.' In the *Doctrine of the Mean* in both the places where the man with true strength of moral character is described as gentle yet firm, and as standing erect in the middle without inclining to either side, the compliment is added: 'How unflinching is his strength?'[68] To go forward unmindful of the dangers of burning fire and boiling water or to face unwaveringly the blade of the sword is possible for a man with the valour of a warrior. But to return to propriety by the conquest of the self is not possible except for one who has the great moral strength of the gentleman."—*IC, III, 11b: 13–12a: 2. (YK, App. II, Hex. 34).

"For the cultivation of the mind nothing is better than to have few [selfish] desires. When one is free from [selfish] desires one will also be free from doubts. To have [selfish] desires does not necessarily mean that one is infatuated by them. Even to lean towards them is to be controlled by them."—#IS, XV, 2b: 5 (c. 1080 A.D.).

"In the matter of self-cultivation, when vigour is applied to the limit, the grasp on moral truth will be so much the firmer; when the forward move is pushed to the limit, improvement in character will be so much the faster…. Severity is not good for the rest and peace [of the mind], but it is helpful for self-cultivation."—*IC, III, 17a: 5–7. (YK, Hex. 35: 6).

Someone expressed sympathy with the Master Cheng-shu (Ch'eng I) by saying to him, "You must be very weary after carefully observing the rules of propriety for forty or fifty years".

The Master said, "Every day I walk in the realm of peace. What weariness can I have? Other people move about daily in the land of dangers: that is really wearisome." —IS, I, 6a: 2–3.

"[When one practices the attitude of] reverent devotion, that is equal to [conformation to] propriety: there will be no self to conquer."—#IS, XV, 1a: 7. Cf. 11b: 6.

The practice of detachment It was asked, "What was meant by [Confucius when he said that Yen Hui] did not transfer his anger and did not repeat a fault?[69] In the recorded sayings[70] there is a note to the effect that when one is angry with A, one must not transfer it to B. Does that represent what you mean?"

He said, "Yes".

The disciple said, "If that is so, it is very easy. Why does it require a Yen Hui to do it?"

The Master said, "It is because it was put in plain words that you have taken it to be easy. Actually it is the most difficult. You must first understand the reason why

[68] *Doctrine of the Mean*, X, 5.

[69] *Analects*, VI, II.

[70] Disciples' notes of Ch'eng I's previous sayings.

he did not transfer his anger. Take for instance [the sage-emperor] Shun's punishment of the four criminals[71]: the anger [that Shun had against them] was what was due to the four criminals. What part did Shun have of it? For [the sage] was simply showing anger towards the person who had done something which deserved anger, while in the sage's own mind there was no anger. This can be compared with a mirror: when a lovely thing comes near, its loveliness is reflected in it. When an ugly thing comes near, its ugliness is also reflected in it. As to the mirror itself, it never owns either loveliness or ugliness. But when an ordinary man is angry at home, his angry countenance will still be seen in the market place. When one is angry with a person can he have no trace of anger in his face when he turns to speak to another person? If there is someone who has such good control of temper that when he is anger with a person he is not also angry with others, he is already [one of those who] are well trained in moral truth. As regards the sage, he is angry only insofar as a person deserves anger. But he himself never has anger. This is really difficult. The superior man is the master of passions. The inferior man is enslaved by passions. When an ordinary man sees something that deserves love or anger, he gives himself away to be involved in the passions, that is very wearisome. The mind of the sage is like still water."—IS, XVIII, 22a: 1–8. Cf. IS, XIX, 13a: 3–5.

"Deal with externals[72] with externals. Do not deal with externals with your own self."—#IS, XV, 17a: 13 (c. 1080 A.D.).

"When a person suffers from many worries and is unable to maintain tranquility, it is because he has no steady mastery over his own mind. If he wants to have a steady mastery over his own mind, the only thing to do is to put into practice the teaching of letting everything rest in its proper resting place, such as 'As a sovereign, he rests in benevolence, etc.'[73] Take for example [the sage-emperor] Shun's punishment of the four criminals: when the four criminals had committed crimes, Shun executed due punishments, but what part did Shun have in it? When a man does not rest in his proper resting place, he is simply trying to grasp at things, but is unable [objectively and without any attachment] to render to everything[74] the thing that is due to it. When [without attachment] one renders to everything what is due to it, he is the master of things. When one is enslaved by things, he becomes slave to things. In everything there is a natural law. Therefore one must rest in the [right relationship where his position requires him to rest]."—#IS, XV, 1b: 7–10 (c. 1080 A.D.).

Reverent devotion instead of stillness of mind "When one practices the attitude of reverent devotion, his mind as a matter of course becomes empty and still. But one must not call this state of emptiness and stillness 'reverent devotion'."—#IS, XV, 11a: 11 (c. 1080 A.D.).

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[71] *Shu King*, II, I, 3. P. 41.

[72] Wu. Lit. things. Here, it means everything that does not belong to the core of personality.

[73] See Chap. 5.3.2.2 above.

[74] The word "thing" or "everything" in the rest of the passage means anything that is not one's inner self: including one's own passions, other persons, affairs, creatures and things.

It was asked, "In practicing the attitude of reverent devotion does one do it with intention?"

He said, "How can one avoid doing it with intention especially in the beginning? If one may do it without intention it means that there is nothing in which to be 'actively engaged'".[75]

The question was again raised, "Does reverent devotion mean stillness of mind?"

He answered and said, "The minute 'stillness' is mentioned one is talking in Buddhist terms. No, we do not use the word 'stillness'. We use 'reverent devotion'. As soon as 'stillness' is spoken of, it conveys the idea of 'forgetting'. Mencius said, 'One must be actively engaged in it, but must not be impatient about results. One [lit. the mind] must never forget about it, but neither must he try to help it grow'.[76] The expression 'one must be actively engaged' has the same implication as 'one must never forget'. 'One must be impatient about results' is the same as saying 'one must not try to help it grow.'"—IS, XVIII, 6b: 1–4.

7.5.2 *The Development of the Life of the Spirit*

The development of the life of the spirit brings to a climax Ch'eng I's discussion about the cultivation of personality. The idea was derived from famous passage in the *Works of Mencius* which was a favourite scriptural passage of the Sung Neo-Confucianists. The essential part of it reads as follows:

"… The will is the leader of vital energy.[77] Vital energy is that by which the body is filled. The will is first and chief, and vital energy is subordinate to it. Therefore I say: Maintain firm the will and do no violence to vital energy",

Kung-sun Ch'ou observed, "Since you say: 'The will is chief and vital energy is subordinate', how do you also say: 'Maintain firm the will and do no violence to vital energy?'"

Mencius replied, "When it is the will alone which is active, it moves vital energy. When it is vital energy alone which is active, it moves the will. For instance now, in the case of a man falling or running: that is from vital energy, and yet it moves the mind".

"I venture to ask", said Kung-sun Ch'ou again, "wherein you, Master, surpass Kao Tzu".

Mencius told him, "I understand words. I am skillful in cultivating my 'Life of the Spirit'".

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[75] *Mencius*, II, I, II, 16.

[76] Ibid See fuller quotation of the passage in the introductory notes of 7.5.2 of the present chapter.

[77] The word Ch'i here rendered "vital energy" as used by *Mencius* did not have exactly the same connotation as that used by the Sung Neo-Confucianists which we discussed in Sect. 3.3 above. The context here shows that ch'i is the vital principle which fills the body and which makes a man courageous. Hence, it is rendered "vital energy".

Kung-sun Ch'ou continued, "I venture to ask what you mean by your 'Life of the Spirit'?"

The reply was, "It is difficult to describe. As spirit it is exceedingly great, strong and upright. When it is cultivated and sustains no injury, it expands until it fills up all between heaven and earth.[78] As spirit it is [vital energy] compounded with righteousness and moral truth; without which is starves. It is produced by the accumulation of righteous deeds; but it is not to be obtained by incidental acts of righteousness. When conduct causes the mind to be uneasy, [the life of the spirit] becomes starved. I therefore said, 'Kao Tzu has never understood righteousness, because he makes it something external.

"[As to how to cultivate this life of the spirit, my advice is that] one must be actively engaged in it, but must not be impatient about results. One (lit. the mind) must never forget about it, but neither must he try to help it grow. One must not be like the man of Sung. There was a man of Sung who was grieved that his growing corn was not taller, and so he pulled it up. [Having done this] he returned home, looking very stupid, and said to his people, 'I am tired today. I have been helping the corn to grow tall.' His son ran to look at it, and found the corn all withered. There are few in the world, [who do not deal with their life of the spirit, as if] they were assisting the corn to grow tall. Some indeed consider it of no benefit to them, and let it alone—they do not weed their corn. They who assist it to grow tall, pull out their corn. [What they do] is not only of no benefit [to the life of the spirit], but it also injures it."—*Mencius*, II, I, II, 9–16. An emendation of Legge's translation.

The term "Hao Jan Chih Ch'i" which is here rendered the 'Life of the Spirit' has baffled many a translator of classical Chinese. James Legge translated it into the "vast flowing passion-nature".[79] Dr. Derk Bodde in his translation of Dr. Fung's *History of Chinese Philosophy* rendered it the "moving force".[80] But since the time of World War II, Dr. Fung preferred to have it rendered the "Great Morale", which is seen in his *Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (p. 78). The reason why we propose the "Life of the Spirit" may be briefly stated as follows: Mencius believed that there is a vital principle in man which fills the body and which gives man his valour. To this vital principle he gave the ancient name ch'i, or breath of life, which is here rendered "vital energy". He also believed, according to his teaching in the passage quoted, that this vital energy, when it is duly cultivated and nourished with the food of righteous deeds, will develop into something which transcends the physical level of human existence and which can fill all between heaven and earth. This something is a continuation of the vital energy, and yet after being "compounded" with righteousness and moral truth it has developed to a level which completely transcends vital energy. It is therefore vital energy and yet not vital

[78]Here in these two sentences Ch'eng I's punctuations are followed instead of Chu Hsi's. Ch'eng I read "upright" as the third adjective after "great" and "strong", so that the three coincide with the description of the three characters of Earth in the *Book of Changes*. See #IS, XV, 20b: 6–9 quoted below.

[79]See Legge's Tr., *Mencius*, II, I, II, 11.

[80]Vol. I, p. 131.

energy. It is this something which he found it hard to express in the language of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. Finding no ready-made term to use, he was obliged to coin one by calling it "Hao Jan Chih Ch'i". The important word in this term is still ch'i or vital energy. But since what he had in mind is something more than vital energy, he added the qualifying phrase "Hao Jan". The latter is associated with the description of a great body of water which is great and moving. It also conveys the notion of being boundless, expansive and morally excellent. The main purpose is to have a term which will indicate that this something which has developed out of vital energy is now one which transcends the limits of the body. It is the term "spirit" that he wanted. But no such terminology was available to him. In both terms, the "ch'i" and the "Hao Jan Chih Ch'i", the underlying concept is that of something which is almost equivalent to what is represented by the Greek word pneuma. In the first term, it is pneuma as the breath of life or the life principle. In the second term it is pneuma as the highest development of human personality, namely, the life of the spirit. Hence, our renderings "vital energy" and "life of the spirit". The writer realizes that it is extremely difficult to find terms that are completely satisfactory. These seem to be the nearest he could get for the present.[81]

After explaining Mencius, let us see what Ch'eng I has to say:

"Mencius' chapter on the cultivation of the life of the spirit[82] deserves your careful study. You must try to have a real understanding of it. The phrases 'do not forget' and 'do not help it grow' are methods of cultivating the life of the spirit. If you do not understand that, how are you going to cultivate it? It is only when there is something, that one can talk about cultivation. If there is nothing, what is one going to cultivate?"—IS, XVIII, 18b: 2–3.

"[Mencius said, 'As life of the spirit it is [vital energy] compounded with righteousness and moral truth']:[83] the phrase 'compounded with righteousness and moral truth' shows that this life of the spirit is to be nourished with righteousness. [In other words], it is to be united with righteousness and moral truth. Before cultivation, vital energy and righteousness are separate and have no mutual relationship. After cultivation vital energy and righteousness are united to form the life of the spirit."—IS, XVIII, 18b: 8–9.

It was asked, "[Mencius said with regard to the cultivation of the life of the spirit that] 'one must be actively engaged in it', does that mean that one must practice the attitude of reverent devotion?"[84]

He said, "… To be actively engaged in the cultivation of the life of the spirit requires the 'accumulation of righteous deeds'. The mere practice of the attitude of

[81]Acknowledgement is here gratefully due to Prof. F. W. Dillistone for his very helpful discussions with me which have enabled me to come to this decision.

[82]*Mencius*, II, I, II, 9–16. See translation of the passage in the introductory notes of the present chapter.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Ibid.

reverent devotion without the accumulation of righteous deeds means that one is not 'actively engaged'".

It was asked, "What is the difference between reverent devotion and righteousness?"

He replied, "Reverent devotion is an attitude which one holds within himself, while righteousness is to know what is right and what is wrong and to act according to moral truth."—IS, XVIII, 19a: 1–2, 6. Also quoted in 7.2 of this chapter.

"The life of the spirit is difficult to understand. One must try to recognize it. When a person's 'conduct cause [no] uneasiness in the mind' he will naturally show such a spirit. But this is not saying all that needs to be said: one needs to see the three characteristics of 'exceeding greatness, exceeding strength, and [exceeding] uprightness'[85] before he can say that he has seen the life of the spirit."—#IS, XV, 20b: 6–8. Cf. IS, XIX, 4a: 7–9.

"A Second Reply" (to Chang Tsai):

"… There is one thing in your letter which you said you had discussed with my elder brother but about which you had not been able to come to an agreement. I should like to express my opinion about it. You said, 'Mencius said:

[As to how to cultivate this life of the spirit my advice is that] one must be actively engaged in it, but must not be impatient about results. One (lit. the mind) must never forget about it, but neither must he try to help it grow:

This is speaking on the plane of hidden mysteries. If one should try to seek it by thought, it would mean that he is already burdening his mind with that which does not belong to the realm of mysteries. How can he ever seek it at all?"

"My opinion is that to be 'actively engaged' means to exercise thinking. When one does not exercise thinking, then he is not engaged in it at all. In this saying Mencius was only explaining the way by which one should cultivate his life of the spirit. How then could he have suddenly jumped to that which pertains to the plane of the mysterious? When the life of the spirit is fully developed, moral reason (Li) will be set right. Moral reason being set right, one will be free from self-interest. Being absolutely free from self-interest, one arrives at the plane of the mysterious. From the stage of the cultivation of the life of the spirit to this last stage there is quite a distance and one must not hastily say that the two stages are the same. Judging from what Mencius said, there is obviously an order of different steps.

"[With regard to the punctuation of the text, I believe] the first sentence ends with 'one must be actively engaged in it, but must not be impatient about results'. Period. 'The mind' belongs to the following sentence.

"What I have said here is indeed not different from the opinion of my elder brother. But [I have taken the liberty to write about it] because I fear he might not have expressed himself fully enough. Distance prevents me from paying you a visit. But my heart longs desperately to see you. There is yet much that I wish to say which I am unable to say here".

[85]These are believed to be the three characteristics of Earth. See Cheng I's comment in *IC, I, 9b: 10–10a: 3, quoted under Tao in Chap. 22.

P. S.—"You said, '"Let the mind never forget" means simply that one must not discard his empty, clear and responsive mind.' I am afraid this is not sound enough. If there is something which one could preserve in the mind and not discard, how can you call it 'empty and clear?' [If it is really 'empty and clear'] how can it at the same time be responsive? Can anything which is described as empty and clear yet responsive be preserved and not forgotten?"—#ICWC, V 4b: 6–5a: 2 (written before Chang Tsai's death in 1077 A.D.).

Erratum to: The Philosophy of Ch'eng I

Erratum to:
Y. Ts'ai, *The Philosophy of Ch'eng I*, China Academic Library, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8566-6

In the original version of the book, the following corrections have to be updated:

City name of author "Yung-ch'un Ts'ai" has to be changed from "Jilin" to "Fujian" throughout.

In copyright page, "China Mainland" has to be changed to "the mainland of China" in the co-publisher text so that it should read as follows: "The print edition is not for sale in the mainland of China. Customers from the mainland of China please order the print book from: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Publishing Co., Ltd."

The erratum book has been updated with the changes.

The updated online version of this book can be found at
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Appendix A
Tables of Critical Information and Evaluation of the Documents in the Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng

N.B. 1. The documents are classified into four groups according to their authenticity and their qualifications for the purpose of the present research:

Class A: the Masters' own writings: considered the best material.
Class B: recorded sayings of known origin.
Class C: recorded sayings of unknown origin, or sayings compiled from records of unknown writers.
Class D: unauthentic material.

2. Only material of Classes A and B is used for the main purpose of the research.
3. For fuller information about each document, see 1.2 of Introduction, and Chu Hsi's critical notes in Appendices B and C (Tables A.1, A.2, A.3, A.4, A.5 and A.6).

Table A.1 I Shu or Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng (25 bks. Plus App. Ed. by Chu Hsi, 1168 A.D.[a])

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Name of recorder	Date	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified[b]	Class
IS I	8	Li Yü	Undated	Both	CH, 5. CI, 2	B
#IS II A	26	Lü Ta-lin	1079	Both	CH, 23. CI, 7	B
IS II B	8	Uncertain	Unknown	Both	CI, 1	C
IS III	7	Hsieh Liang-tso	Undated	Both	ALL	B?
#IS IV	5	Yu Cha	1081[c]	Both	CH, 3. CI, 2	B
IS V	3	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
IS VI	11	Unknown	Unknown	Both	CI, 1	C
IS VII	3	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
IS VIII	2	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
IS IX	4	Unknown	Unknown	Both	None	C
#IS X	5	Su Ping	1077	Both	All	B

(continued)

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Table A.1 (continued)

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Name of recorder	Date	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified[b]	Class
IS XI	13	Liu Hsüan	Undated	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XII	2	Liu Hsüan	1082	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XIII	1	Liu Hsüan	1083	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XIV	2	Liu Hsüan	1083	Ch'eng Hao	All	B
#IS XV[d]	22	Kuan Chung scholars	1080?	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XVI	1	Unknown	1089	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XVII	6	Unknown	Before 1088	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XVIII	48	Liu An-shieh	Between 1090 and 1097	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XIX	14	Yang Ti	After 1100	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XX	1	Chou Fu-hsien	1101	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXI A	5	Chang I	Undated	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXI B	3	Unknown	Unknown	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XXII A	14	T'ang Ti	Undated	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXII B	5	Unknown	Unknown	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XXIII	5	Pao Jo-yü	Undated	Ch'eng I	All	B
IS XXIV	4	Unknown	Unknown	Ch'eng I	All	C
IS XXV	9	Ch'ang Ta-yin ?	Unknown	Ch'eng I?	?	D
IS App.	15					A/B[e]

[a]Chu Hsi remarked in the Preface to the *Wai Shu* that all the 25 books in the *I Shu* were complete notebooks, each being written by a disciple (except IS XV. See Introduction 1.2, Footnote 98: 2). In other words they were unabridged and unmixed (WS, Contents, 2a).
[b]CH stands for Ch'eng Hao, while CI for Ch'eng I.
[c]Yu Cha studied under Ch'eng Hao in 1081 and under Ch'eng I in 1093 (*Yu Ting-fu Hsien Sheng Chi*, chüan shou, 5b, 6b). The fact that Chu Hsi mentioned only the former event indicates that he believed the record to belong to that time (IS, Contents). Ch'eng I seemed to be staying with his brother then (IS, IV, 1a: 11–12).
[d]See Introduction 1.2, Footnote 98 for critical remarks.
[e]Authentic writings about the Masters, including a document by Ch'eng I.

Table A.2 Wai Shu or Secondary Collection of Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng (12 bks. Ed. by Chu Hsi, 1173 A.D.[a–d])

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Gleanings from MS compiled by	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified	Class
WS I	7	Chu Kuang-t'ing	Both	CH, 5 CI, 3	C
WS II	4	Chu Kuang-t'ing	Both	Almost all	C
WS III	4	(MS owned by Ch'en Yüan)	Both	CH, 1	C

(continued)

Table A.2 (continued)

Abbrev. title	No. of leaves	Gleanings from MS compiled by	Sayings of	Approx. no. of sayings identified	Class
WS IV	1	Li Ts'an	Both?	None	C
WS V	2	Feng Chung-shu	Ch'eng I?	None	C
WS VI	10	(MS owned by Lo Ts'ung-yen)	Both	Mostly	C
WS VII A	4	(MS owned by Hu An-kuo)	Both	CH, 2 CI, 6	C
WS VII B	1/2	(do.)	Both	CH, 1	C
WS VIII	2	(MS owned by Yu Cha)	Both	CI, 1	C
WS IX	1	Wang P'in	Ch'eng I	None	C
WS X	5	(Printed Collection)	Both?	CI, 1	C
WS XI	7	Shih Tsu-chih	Ch'eng I?	CH, 4 CI, 17	C?
WS XII	19	(20 sources)	Both	All	B/C

[a]Books I–XI were "Gleanings" from MSS originally compiled from records made by various disciples, except Bk. X which was a printed collection.
[b]No date was given of any of the MSS from which these Gleanings were made.
[c]Book XII includes anecdotes. It was compiled by Chu Hsi from 20 sources in 1173.
[d]CH stands for Ch'eng Hao, while CI for Ch'eng I.

Table A.3 Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi or Collected Writings of the Two Masters Ch'eng

Abbrev. title	No. of books	No. of leaves	Author	Compiler and date	Editor and date	Class
*MTWC	5	39	Ch'eng Hao	Unknown	T'an Shan-hsin 1323	A
*ICWC	8	101	Ch'eng I	Ch'eng Tuan-chung 1112	T'an Shan-hsin 1323	A
Appenidx I		5	(Writings and sayings of, and Anecdotes about, both)		T'an Shan-hsin 1323	A/B[a]
Appendix II		9	(Letters and PSS by Chu Hsi and others about book)		T'an Shan-hsin 1323	

MTWC *Ming Tao Wen Chi* or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng Hao*
ICWC *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* or *Collected Writings of Ch'eng I*
[a]Writings Class A, except the "Preface to the Book of Changes" (Li Hsü), see Chap. I, Footnote 22. Recorded Sayings and Anecdotes Class B.

Table A.4 I Chuan or Commentary on the Book of changes

Abbrev. title	No. of books	No. of leaves	Author and date	Collator and date	Class
*IC	4	228	Ch'eng I 1099	Lü Chu-ch'ien 1169	A

Table A.5 Ching Shuo or scriptural expositions of the Master Ch'eng

Abbrev. title	Title	No. of leaves	Portion of book covered	Critical remarks	Class
CS I	Exp. of YK Appendix III	3	1 section out of 2	Compiled by disciples from records of Ch'eng I's oral explanations	C
CS II	Exp. of Bk of History	11	2 bks out of 50	Ditto	C
CS III	Exp. of Bk of Odes	27	64 out of 305 odes	Ditto	C
*CS IV	Com. on Spring & Autumn Annals	1–16	To Duke Huan 9	Ch'eng I's own writing. Preface dated 1103	A
CS IV	Ditto	16–26	To Duke Ai 8	Compiled from records of CI's oral explanations	C
*CS V	Text of Great Learning	1–3 3–5	Whole Whole	Corrected by Ch'eng Hao Corrected by Ch'eng I	A A
CS VI	Exp. of Analects	12	9 out of 20 chs.	Compiled from records of CI's oral explanations	C
CS VII	Exp. of Mencius	Text unprinted		Unauthentic	D
CS VIII	Exp. of Doctrine of the Mean	10		Unauthentic	D

Table A.6 Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen or Choice Sayings of the Two Masters Ch'eng

Abbrev. title	No. of books	No. of leaves	Editor	Date	Critical remarks	Class
SY	2	73	Unknown	Unknown	Unauthentic	D

Appendix B
Table of Contents of the I Shu with Critical Notes: By Chu Hsi, 1168 A.D.

BOOK I: *Tuan-pai's Tradition of the Masters' Words*

— Saying of Both Masters: I

N.B. Li Yü, styled Tuan-pai, was from Loyang. The Master I Ch'uan (Ch'eng I) said, "Of all the records of sayings only Li Yü's represents my idea. No mistake has been found in what he has taken down." Hence it is placed at the beginning of the present volume.

BOOK II A: *Sayings Recorded during Lü Yü-shu's Visit to the Two Masters in the East in the Year Chi Wei in the Reign of Yüan Feng*

— Sayings of Both Masters: II A

N.B. Lü Ta-lin, styled Yü-shu, was from Lan T'an. He first studied under the Master Chang Tsai. After the latter's death (1077) he came to Loyang. Chi Wei was the second year of Yüan Feng (1079). But the record includes also references to things which happened after that date.

BOOK II B: (Appendix to Book II A)

— Sayings of Both Masters: II B

N.B. Certain MS ascribes this also to Yü-shu (Lü Ta-lin). Hence it is appended here.

BOOK III: *Hsieh Hsien-tao's Reminiscences of Former Sayings*

— Sayings of Both Masters: III

N.B. Hsieh Liang-tso, styled Hsien-tao, was from Shang Ts'ai. He became a disciple in the reign of Yüan Feng (1078–1085). Hsieh once remarked, "When I studied under the Two Masters, all scholars except me made records of their sayings." Hence these must be reminiscences.

BOOK IV: *Yu Ting-fu's Record*

— Sayings of Both Masters: IV

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N.B. Yu Cha, styled Ting-fu, was from Chien Chou. He became a disciple in the reign of Yüan Feng (1078–1085).

BOOK V:

— Sayings of Both Masters: V

N.B. This and the following three books were originally without titles. It is not known by whom they were recorded. They are attached here because the sayings of the Two Masters are not separately identified.

BOOK VI:

— Sayings of Both Masters: VI

N.B. The same as above. In this and the following book there are places where the texts seem erroneous and are obscure. We have retained them all without omission, in the hope that some one may be able to understand them.

BOOK VII:

— Sayings of Both Masters: VII

N.B. Same as above.

BOOK VIII:

— Sayings of Both Masters: VIII

N.B. This was found as an individual book, containing only explanations on the *Analects* and *Mencius*. It looks one of the special collections. But its material is not mixed with that of other books. Hence it is attached here.

BOOK IX: *Sayings Learned from the Masters and Friends during My Early Days*

— Sayings of Both Masters: IX

N.B. The MS was originally placed next after the MS of Book I. We do not know by whom it was recorded. It is appended here because the sayings of the Two Masters are not separately identified.

BOOK X: *Discussions in Loyang*

— Sayings of Both Masters: X

N.B. In the tenth year of Hsi Ning (1077) the Master Heng Ch'ü (Chang Tsai) went through Loyang, where he had discussions with the Two Masters. This precedes all the other records in time. But since it includes sayings by Chang Tsai, it is attached here.

— Recorded by Su Ping (Chi-ming)

N.B. Su Ping was from Kuan Chung. He was a disciple of Chang Tsai.

BOOK XI: *The Teaching of the Master*

— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: I

— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

N.B. Liu came from Hou Shih.

BOOK XII: *What I Heard in the Winter of Hsü during My Visit to the Master Pai Ch'un (Ch'eng Hao) in Loyang*

N.B. Hsü is Jen-hsü, the 5th year of Yüan Feng (1082).
— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: II
— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

BOOK XIII: *What I Heard in the Eighth Moon of Hai during My Visit to the Master in Loyang*

N.B. Hai is Luei-hai, the 6th year of Yüan Feng (1083).
— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: III
— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

BOOK XIV: *What I Heard in the Ninth Moon of Hai When I Passed Through Ju Chou*

N.B. At that time the Master was Superintendent of Wine Tax in Ju Chou.
— Sayings of the Master Ming Tao: IV
— Recorded by Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)

BOOK XV: *Recorded Sayings of the Master during His Visit to Kuan Chung*

N.B. Recorded by Kuan Chung scholars. According to the *Collected Writings* the Master visited Kuan Chung both in the year Keng-Shen of Yüan Feng (1080) and the year Hsin Wei of Yüan Yu (1091). But in the latter date Lü Yü-shu (Ta-lin) was already dead. Since Yü-shu's name is mentioned here, it looks like the year Keng Shen (1080).
— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: I
N.B. Some maintained that they are sayings of the Master Ming Tao (Ch'eng Hao).

BOOK XVI: *What I heard in the Winter of Chi Ssu*

N.B. Recorder unknown. Chi Ssu is the 4th year of Yüan Yu (1089). The book was originally placed next after the MS of Book IX.
— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: II

BOOK XVII:

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: III
N.B. No title in the MS. Recorder unknown. Some said it was by Chou Hsing-chi (Kung-shu) of Yung Chia. Others said it was by Liu An-chieh (Yüan-ch'eng) of Yung Chia. Still others ascribed it to some Kuan Chung scholar. But none of them had any clear evidence. Hence the text is here retained without a title. We know that Liu Hsüan died in the third year of Yüan Yu (1088). Since his name is mentioned, the sayings must be dated before that time.

BOOK XVIII: *Edited by Liu Yüan-ch'eng's own Hands*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: IV

N.B. Liu An-chieh, styled Yüan-ch'eng, was from Yuan Chia. In the record references were made to things which happened after his (Ch'eng I's) father's death in the 5th year of Yüan Yu (1090) and before his own banishment in the 4th year of Shao Sheng (1097). The MS was obtained by Ch'en Yüan (Chi-shou) of Yen P'ing, from the recorder's son. There is a P.S. by Ch'en.

BOOK XIX: *Recorded by Yang Tsun-tao*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: V

N.B. Yang Ti, Styled Tsun-tao, came from Yen P'ing. He was the eldest son of Wen Ching Kung (Yang Shih). The record refers to things which happened after [Ch'eng I's] return from Fu Ling in the end of Yüan Fu (1100).

BOOK XX: *Recorded by Chou Pai-ch'en*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VI

N.B. Chou Fu-hsien, styled Pai-ch'en, came from Pi Ling. He became a disciple in the beginning of Chien Chung Ching Kuo (1101).

BOOK XXI A: *Sayings of the Master*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VII A
— Recorded by his disciple Chang I
N.B. Chang I, styled Ssu-shu, came from Shou An.

BOOK XXI B: (Appendix to Book XXI A)

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VII B

N.B. MS owned by Hu An-kuo (Wen Ting Kung). Sayings, which are repetitions of material contained in other books, have been eliminated. Owing to its similarity in style with XXI A, we have placed it here.

BOOK XXII A: Record of Miscellaneous Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VIII A
— Recorded by T'ang Ti (Yen-ssu)
N.B. He came from Pi Ling.

BOOK XXII B: (Appendix to XXII A)

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: VIII B

N.B. MS owned by Ch'en of Yen P'ing. It was originally an individual book without the name of the recorder. Some of the sayings are similar to what we find in XXII A. Hence it is attached here.

BOOK XXIII: *Recorded by Pao Jo-yü*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: IX

N.B. Pao Jo-yü was from Yung Chia, styled Ju-lin, a variant says Shang-lin.

BOOK XXIV: *MS Owned by Chou Te-chiu*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: X

N.B. Chou Ping, styled Te-chiu, was son of Chou Tao-hsiang of Pi Ling [*Sung Yüan hsüeh An*, XXXV]. He never saw the Master. We do not know whose tradition this MS represents. It was formerly attached to Book II A.

BOOK XXV: *Recorded by Ch'ang Ch'ien-tao*

— Sayings of the Master I Ch'uan: XI

N.B. Ch'ang Ta-yin was styled Ch'ien-tao. His name is seen in Book II A. The material of this book was found in the *Chao Shih K'e Yü*, where no indication was made as to whose sayings they were and who recorded them. However, some of the sayings have been quoted in a special collection of Lo of Yen P'ing, where it is annotated as from the Ch'ang MS. Could the record, then, have been made by Ch'eng Ch'ieu-tao? Some of the sayings are also seen in the MS owned by Hu where it is said that they were transmitted by Chang Kuo (Yang-shu), and that there was a suspicion that many of the sayings were not made by the Master. After an examination we have found that the latter statement is quite true. Hence it is appended here at the end of the book.

Appendix C
Table of Contents of the Wai Shu with Critical Notes: By Chu Hsi, 1173 A.D.

BOOK I: *Gleanings from Notes taken by Chu Kung-tan*

N.B. Chu Kuang-t'ing, styled Kung-tan, studied under both Masters. In the reign of Yüan Yu (1086–1094), he serves as a Counsellor at the Imperial Court. These notes were originally mixed up with those of IS, XI and IS, XV. It looks as though Mr. Chu recorded what he himself had heard and that he then made copies of these other notes as appendices. But there is no definite evidence for this conjecture. The following are gleanings of sayings which have not appeared elsewhere.

BOOK II: *Gleanings from Chu Kung-tan's Enquiries and Learnings*

N.B. Originally it forms a separate book. But many of the sayings are repetitions of the last book. These repetitions have been omitted here.

BOOK III: *Gleanings from MS Owned by Ch'en*

N.B. Ch'en Yüan of Yen P'ing, styled Chi-shou, was a disciple of Yang Wen Ching Kung (Yang Shih).

BOOK IV: *Gleanings from the learning of the Master Ch'eng*

N.B. Recorded by Li Ts'an. Ts'an was the younger brother of Li Yü [recorder of IS, I]. He studied under the Master I Ch'uan (Ch'eng I). This MS contains ten books, five of which are Liu Hsüan's (Chih-fu) compilation of *Explanations on the Ch'un Ch'iu*. The other five books contain material which is mixed up with that of IS, I, IS XI–XIV, and IS XV.

BOOK V: *Gleanings from MS Owned by the Feng Family*

N.B. Feng Li, styled Sheng-hsien, studied under the Master I Ch'uan. He calls himself "Tung Kao Tzu." His son Chung-shu, styled Kuan-tao, who studied under

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Yin (T'un), compiled this book. The compilation includes material from IS, XV and other MSS.

BOOK VI: *Gleanings from MS Owned by the Lo Family*

N.B. Lo Ts'ung-yen of Yen P'ing, styled Chung-su, disciple of Yang Shih (Wen Ching Kung).

BOOK VII: *Gleanings from MSS Owned by the Hu Family*

N.B. MS owned by Hu An-kuo's (Wen Ting Kung) descendants. There is also another MS of special collection of sayings. In the latter, the sayings have been changed from the vernacular into classical style. Each saying is prefixed with the phrase "The Master said" [as in the *Analects*]. Sayings from these MSS which have not appeared elsewhere have been selected and attached here.

BOOK VIII: *Gleanings from MS Owned by the Yu Family*

N.B. MS owned by the descendants of Yu Cha (Ting-fu).

BOOK IX: *Gleanings from Recorded Explanations on the Ch'un Ch'iu*

N.B. Wang P'in of Wu, styled Hsin-pai, studied under the Master I Ch'uan (Ch'eng I). He compiled the oral explanations on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* into this MS.

BOOK X: *Gleanings from the Comprehensive Collection or Ta Ch'üan Chi*

N.B. A book printed in Chien Yang.

BOOK XI: *Gleanings from the MS of Shih*

N.B. A collection made by Shih Tzu-chih, entitled the *Profound Sayings of the Master Ch'eng*, 25 books. In this collection, many of the Master's original sayings have been altered.

BOOK XII: *A Collection of Sayings and Anecdotes*

[Compiled by Chu Hsi from twenty different sources the names of which we have omit].

Appendix D
Main Stages in the History of the Compilation of the Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng

The history of the compilation of the *Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng* may be briefly told as follows:

1. The Sung Edition: About 140 years after Ch'eng I's death in the reign of Ch'un-yu (1241–1252), a Sung scholar by the name of Chang Chi[1] made printed editions of the *I Shu*, the *Wai Shu*, the *Ching Shuo* and the *Wen Chi* and called them the Four Books of the Ch'engs. No effort, however, was made to combine them into one book. They remained as four single publications.
2. The Yüan Edition: In 1323, a similar effort was made by the Yüan scholar T'an Shan-hsin.[2] He edited the *Wen Chi* according to Chu Hsi's text and committed it to printing along side with the *I Shu* and *Wai Shu*. He also planned to collate and print the *Ching Shuo*. But whether he ever succeeded in the latter attempt we do not know.
3. The Ming Ch'eng-hua Edition: The title *Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu* appeared for the first time in the 1472 edition of Yen Yü-hsi.[3] It was given by Li Hsien who wrote in the preface dated 1465[4]: "More than four hundred years[5] have elapsed since the times of the two Ch'engs, and yet no *Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu* has been made available to scholars. Nothing can be more regrettable than this…." The contents of the book follow the general patterns of the Sung and Yüan editions; namely, they include the *I Shu*, the *Wai Shu*, the *Wen Chi* and the *Ching Shuo*. They make a total of 62 books. Ting Ping[6] thinks that this is the earliest edition since those of Sung and Yüan.

[1]Ting Ping, *Shan Pen Shu Shih Ts'ang Shu Chih*, bk. 15, 9b–10b.
[2]ICWC, Appendix, Contents, 1bf; Appendix 13b: 8, 14a; 11.
[3]Ting Ping, loc. cit.
[4]Ting Ping, ibid.
[5]This is not accurate as Ch'eng Hao died in 1085 while Ch'eng I in 1107.
[6]Tinh Ping, ibid.

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4. The Ming Hung-chih Edition: A second Ming edition was made by K'ang Shao-tsung in 1498. It was based on the 1472 edition following the same "Four Books" pattern and made a total of 65 books.
5. The Hsü Pi-ta Edition: A third Ming edition bears the name of Hsü Pi-ta, whose life is seen in the *Ming Shih* or *History of the Ming Dynasty*.[7] Having no access to a copy[8] of his edition at the time of writing, we are not able to tell the exact date nor the contents, though we know that it has 68 books.[9]
6. The Lü Edition: The earliest edition to which we can trace current printed editions[10] is the Lü Edition (or Shih Men Lü Shih K'an Pen) which was made by Lü Liu-liang (1629–1683)[11] somewhere between 1662–1683.[12] It is considered by expert opinion to be a "good" edition.[13] It includes the I Chuan and the Sui Yen both of which are not seen in the first four editions mentioned above. Whether they were also included in the Hsü Pi-ta edition, or whether they were introduced for the first time in the Lü edition we cannot tell, for the reason given above. Should we be able to lay our hands on copies of the Hsü and Lü editions, especially the preface of the Lü edition,[14] we ought not only to be able to answer this particular question, but also to gain a more definite knowledge of the general relation of the Lü edition to previous editions.

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[7]*Ming Shih*, bk. 292, under his son's name, "Hsu Shih-ch'un". Hsü Pi-ta qualified for the *Chin Shih* degree in 1592 and flourished until his retirement from official life in 1623.

[8]There are at least two copies of this book in Japan, the one a Ming original (which unfortunately is not complete), the other a Japanese reprint. See *Seikadō Bunko Kanseki Bunrui Mokuroku* (Tokyo, The Seikadō Library, 1930. See Bibliog. 2, 69) p. 427; *Naikaku Punko Tosho Mokuroku* (Tokyo, the Cabinet Library, 1890. See Bibliog. 2, 70) p. 379.

[9]Mo Yu-chih, *Lü T'ing Chih Chien Ch'uan Pen Shu Mu*, bk. 7, 3a, b.

[10]For instance, the Kiangsu Kuo Hsüeh T'u Shu Kuan has a copy of the Liu An Ch'iu Wo Chai printed edition, and another copy of the Hsing Sha Hsiao Lang Huan Hsien Kuan printed edition, both of which are recorded as "reprints of the Lü Edition" (See Kiangsu Kuo Hsüeh T'u Shu Tsung Mu, bk. 44, p. 37a). The former, i.e., the Liu An Ch'iu Wo Chai edition, is probably the edition upon which the Ssu Pu Pei Yao edition was based, as the latter was based on a "Chiang Ning Printed Edition", and Fan Hsi-tseng noted a "Ch'iu Wo Chai Chiang Ning printed Edition" made in the tenth year of T'ung-chih (1871) (See *Shu Mu Ta Wen Pu Cheng*).

[11]We learn from the *Shu Mu Ta Wen Pu Cheng* that the Pao Kao T'ang books were edited and printed by Lü Liu-liang. The latter was a Ming loyalist. His views against the Manchus were brought to light during the years 1728–32. Early in 1733, the case was concluded and resulted in the unearthing and dismembering of his corpse. Fifty years later, all of his writings that could be found were burned, even to occasional poems and complimentary prefaces written for his friends. See Hummel, "Lü Liu-liang", *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*.

[12]The book is dated by bibliographers "in the reign of K'ang Hsi" (1662–1722). But Lü Liu-liang, the editor, died in 1683. Therefore, the book must be edited between 1662 and 1683.

[13]Mo Yu-chih, ibid.

[14]If no preface is found to appear in the Lü edition, we are not surprised, because all his writings were ordered to be burned during the reign of Ch'ien Lung. See Footnote 11.

Appendix E
Some Minor Points of Historical Criticism Concerning the Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi

1. Is a fifth postscript missing?

In the table of contents of Appendix II in both the printed editions which we use, "five pieces" of postscripts are listed, but only four are actually found in the book. Is the fifth postscript then missing? Without access to an early printed copy of T'an Shan-hsin's edition, it does not seem possible to give a conclusive answer to this question. But in the absence of other direct evidence, the writer ventures to give the following theory:

(1) Judging from the present arrangement of the book, it looks as though T'an Shan-hsin handled the material now printed as Appendix II by letting it stand at the end of the book without calling it a second book or listing its headings in the table of contents. This will explain the apparent awkward position of his own postscript which is placed at the end of the table of contents of Appendix I, which accounted for only one book of Appendix, and which seemed to indicate that the book ended with the Appendix.
(2) Who then made the table of contents for Appendix II and called it a book? Apparently an unknown later hand, which left its traces not only here, but also in the table of contents of the *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi* itself in connection with the genealogical chart, which we shall presently take up. He did it simply for the sake of his readers' convenience, because too many things were printed at the end of the book.
(3) But why did he say "five" when there are only four postscripts? The reason is not difficult to find. When T'an Shan-hsin printed Chu Hsi's letters at the end of the book, under the general heading for the letters he noted: "Chang Shih's remarks attached". By that he meant a short postscript about Chu Hsi's additional collection of nine pieces of writing of the Ch'eng brothers. This incidentally was printed just in front of the four postscripts. It was natural that one who did not himself know the material well enough should easily make a mistake here.

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If the above theory is correct, it will confirm the statement of the editors of the *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu* (See *Ssu K'u T'i Yao* under "Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi") that Appendix II was compiled by T'an Shan-hsin. This latter statement is of significance because it supports the authenticity of Chang Shih's postscript just mentioned, to which we have referred in Introduction 1.2 Footnote 109, and which is not seen in the *Complete Works* of Chang Shih. It will also indicate through two of the postscripts here included the interesting fact that T'an Shan-hsin had used two very old printed editions of *I Shu* plus *Wai Shu*, both printed in 1246, 46 years after Chu Hsi's death, and possibly a still earlier printed edition of the *Wen Chi*, because one of the said printed editions of *I Shu* plus *Wai Shu* was made to match the *Wen Chi*.

2. Genealogical chart of the Ch'eng family

A heading which reads "Ho Nan Ch'eng Shih Shih Hsi Chih T'u" is found in the table of contents of *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* at the end of Book VI. But the chart is missing in the current printed editions. We know that this was prepared by T'an Shan-hsin and was originally placed "in the front of Book XII", as he told us in the postscript (*Wen Chi*, Appendices, contents, p. 2a). However, one might wonder why what was arranged in Book XII should now be listed at the end of Book VI. This is not difficult to understand. Because *Ming Tao Wen Chi* has five books, and *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* eight. T'an Shan-hsin was editing a combined edition of the two, so that Book VII in *I Ch'uan Wen Chi* will in the combined edition become Book XII. The heading of the chart was listed by T'an Shan-hsin in the beginning of Book XII (or Book VII of the separate edition) before the general headlines of the book, as logically it should. But it must have appeared awkward to a later editing hand solved the apparent difficulty by simply switching the words "Book VII" forward, with the result that we get the heading in its present position, namely end of Book VI.

This, however, could not have been done before the chart had disappeared from the book. Because if the chart had been seen in the front of Book VII, no difficulty would have arisen at all. As to the reason why the chart disappeared, we have no information. It might simply be due to difficulty in printing. Another chart about burial listed under the article "Tsang Shuo" in Book VI is also found missing from the book.

3. Chou Tz'u-ch'en's remark about the insertion of newly collected articles into the original classified books

Chou's remark is seen in his postscript written for T'an Shan-hsin's edition in 1322. But this apparently was not carried out, because T'an Shan-hsin's collection appears as a separate book in the Appendices. This can be explained by the fact that

Chou's postscript was written almost one year before T'an's, which marks the date of publication as 1323, by which time T'an might have revised his original plan. If, however, T'an had never planned to insert the new articles, it could still be understood by the supposition that Chou had heard of T'an's new collection, and had simply assumed that T'an was going to insert them, and that it being a minor point, T'an did not think it necessary to trouble Chou by asking him to correct the statement.

Appendix F
The Political and Social Ideas of Ch'eng I

1. Political Ideas[15]

Ch'eng I's political ideas have to do chiefly with the ethical duties of man in the traditional political strata, and the principle and practice of government. The traditional body politic in China consisted of four main strata, namely the king, the ministers, the scholars and the people. The king and his ministers were the rulers. The people were the ruled. The scholars as a group stood in between the rulers and the ruled. It is not to be denied that many of the scholars were sons of officials,[16] nevertheless it is also true that a very significant portion of them came from families of the common people. These latter, however, through the system of civil service

[15]Although political and social ideas do not form part of Ch'eng I's main contribution, they occupy much space in his writings and recorded sayings. For those who are interested in these particular subjects, this article is written and placed here for reference.

[16]Karl August Wittfogel is of the opinion that the Chinese ruling officialdom reproduced itself socially more or less from its own ranks (see "New Light on Chinese Society", American Institute of Pacific Relations, Inc., New York, 1938, pp. 11–12). E. A. Kracke, Jr., however, after a study of the examination lists of 1148 and 1256, came to the conclusion that the examinations of the period concerned regularly served to recruit into the governmental service "a very significant proportion of new blood". This, however, is not really so contradictory to Wittfogel's findings as it may seem, according to Kracke, because Wittfogel reached his preliminary conclusion on the basis of biographical data of eminent officials drawn from Chinese dynastic histories. These latter were the topmost elite of the Chinese officialdom: men especially noted for their administrative achievements, and consisted of only a very small percentage of men in the civil service. If this elite contained a higher proportion of men with official background in the family, we need not be surprised. The Sung period data that he (Kracke) examined, on the other hand, were a cross section, at two points, of the entire body of men passing the civil service examination, and may be taken to give a more representative picture of the real situation. See E. A. Kracke, Jr., "Family vs. Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations Under the Empire", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Sept., 1947, pp. 103–123.

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examinations and other supplementary methods[17] could be taken into the civil service and thus jump from the status of the ruled to that of the rulers. This and the fact that they were not expected to be economic producers made them a separate group. As the group whose duty was to learn the spiritual heritage of the nation and translate it into political action, they were believed to be entrusted with a mission ethical and cosmic in nature. It was with this group that Ch'eng I identified himself. It was from the point of view of a member of this group that he did most of his thinking.

(1) The Political Strata

a. The King

The Idea of Kingship The king is king by the appointment of Heaven. This appointment, seen in the light of Ch'eng I's idea of history discussed in Chap. 4, is involved in the cyclical movement of the cosmos. It may have been made because of the ripeness of time. Or it may have been a result of the working of the law of cause and effect. Anyhow it is Heaven's appointment. When the time comes for a change of dynasty, it is called the change of appointment.

"The king 'acts in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven',[18] therefore he is designated T'ien Wang or 'Heavenly King'; his decree is called T'ien Ming or 'Heavenly Decree', and his punishment T'ien T'ao or 'Heavenly Punishment'. So who fulfills this way of government [fulfills] Wang Tao or 'the Way of the Sage-Kings'. Rulers of later generations who controlled the empire by cleverness followed the Fa Tao of 'the Way of the Princely Chieftains'."[19]—*CS, IV, 2b: 11–12. Cf. 2a: 3–4.

"… Royal rulers arise by receiving appointment from Heaven. That is why the change of dynasty is called 'the change of appointment'.[20]"—*IC, IV, 9a: 8–9.

It was asked, "If [the sage-emperor] Shun could influence [his father] Ku Sao and [his brother] Hsiang so that they did not become men of great wickedness,[21] why could he not convert [his son] Shang Chün?"

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[17]E. g., by recommendation of high officials, through selection from among the governmental employee holding lower positions not considered to be in the civil service, through degrees occasionally conferred by special grace on those who had taken examinations unsuccessfully a number of times, etc. (Ref. Ibid., p. 119).

[18]*Shu King*, IV, VIII, ii, 1.

[19]The terms "the Way of the Sage-Kings" (Wang Tao) and "the Way of the Princely Chieftains" (Pa Tao) are derived from *Mencius*, II, I, III, 1, where Mencius said, "He who, using force, makes a pretence to benevolence, is the leader of the princes.… He who, using virtue, practises benevolence—is the sovereign of the empire". By way of illustration Mencius went on to tell how the sage-kings T'ang and Wen won the hearts of the people by virtue, etc. Mathews in his Dictionary renders the terms "the way of right" and "the way of might". These convey the general sense, but they are not historically accurate.

[20]The Chinese original for the "change of appointment" is Ke-ming, which in the modern period is used in the sense of revolution.

[21]*Shu King*, I, I.

He said, "The statement that they did not become men of great wickedness means that he was only able to prevent them from doing harm to himself and from reaching the stage of great wickedness. But with Shang Chün the case is different. When Shun was going to hand over the government of the empire to someone else, he wanted to find a person who was as good as himself. Shang Chün unfortunately was not up to the standard. But that was all that was wrong with him. He was never greatly wicked. We may say in general that the Five Emperors[22] took the duty of ruling the empire as a commission. Hence they selected one who was the most worthy in the whole empire to hand over the office to him. The Three Kings[23] regarded the empire as a family possession, therefore they gave it to their sons. Considering the matter from the point of view of its fundamental principles, he who rules the empire ought to pick the most worthy person in the whole empire and put him above all the people: this is the most [ideal and] impartial law. On account of the difficulty in securing a right person, however, there arose contentions in later generations over the throne, therefore it was given to the son. To be sure this practice of giving the throne to the son is partial, it nevertheless is a legal procedure universally recognized in the empire. The trouble is that he who observes the law does it with a selfish heart."—IS, XVIII, 34a: 12–34b: 4.

The Way of the Sage-Kings The ideal path for the king to follow is the Wang Tao or the way of the Sage-Kings. It is a rule by virtue and benevolence as in contrast with the Pa Tao or 'the Way of the Princely Chieftains',[24] which is a rule by force and cleverness. This path was believed to have been practiced by the sage-kings of the ancient time and could still be followed by modern rulers if they wanted to. It was in order to help rulers in this practice that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* was written by Confucius.

Someone asked concerning the length of time required to set the state in order. He said, "Chung-ni[25] has already made some clear statements on this matter: 'If there were (any of the princes) who would employ me, in the course of twelve months I should have done something considerable. In three years the government would be perfected.'[26] What Chung-ni meant by perfecting was the achievement of good government, as in the time of the sage-emperors Yao and Shun. Only this can be called perfect. But this is the work of the sages which is beyond the reach of ordinary people….

"The remark 'I should have done something in the course of twelve months' means the announcement of laws and regulations. The expression 'In three years the government would be perfected' means the achievement of good government. The work of the sages is not what people of later generations dare to hope to

[22]According to *Ta Tai Li* and *Shih Chi*, the Five Emperors are: Huang Ti, Chuan Hsü, Ti K'u, Yao and Shun. See *Tz'u Yüan* under "Wu Ti".
[23]Yü, T'ang, and Wen-and-Wu. See Chap. 4, Footnote 13.
[24]See Footnote 19 for explanation of terms.
[25]The style of Confucius.
[26]*Analects*, XIII, X.

accomplish. The government of the Two Emperors[27] only sages can attain. Nevertheless, the great careers of the Three Kings[28] and their successors are [definitely] within the power of every man of great virtues."

It was asked again, "Confucius said in regard to the supposition of his being employed that in three years the government would be perfected. But in regard to the supposition of the rise of a truly royal ruler why did he say that 'it would still require a generation, and then virtue would prevail?'"[29]

He said, "The expression 'virtue would prevail' means the stage when customs are changed, when the people yield to virtue, and when the whole empire is transformed. How can this be accomplished without the passage of time? Therefore it is quite reasonable to say that it would require a generation…."—IS, XVIII, 29a: 4–12.

"Preface to the Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals."

"Where Heaven produces a people there is bound to be some outstanding person who rises to rule over them. He governs them and their strife comes to an end. He guides them and their livelihood is made plenteous. He educates them and their ethical relationships are made clear. Thus the way of man is firmly set, the way of Heaven is brought to completion, and the way of Earth is made plain…. When sage-kings had ceased to appear, even though those who possessed the empire desired to imitate the achievements of the ancients, yet what they did could scarcely be anything but absurd actions based on private ideas…. The Master, living in the latter part of the Chou Dynasty, seeing that sages had ceased to appear, and that government in accordance with the will of Heaven and in compliance with the requirement of time was no more practiced, proceeded to write the *Spring and Autumn Annals* to serve as the unchangeable law and pattern for all rulers…. When later kings learn the principles contained in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, they may yet imitate the government of the Three Dynasties[30] even though their virtues be not those of the sage-kings Yü and T'ang…."[31]—*CS, IV, 1a: 2–4, 6–7, 8–9; 1b: 5.

The King's Duty Towards Himself He must practice the attitude of reverent devotion[32] in order to serve as the moral pattern of his people. He must also make up his mind to carry out the Way of the Sage-Kings, firmly believing that it can be done.

"I have heard Mr. Hu Yüan[33] say, 'The virtuous king (lit. the gentleman) who reigns above is the moral pattern of the people. He must be extremely solemn and reverently devoted in attitude, so that his subjects may take him as an object of

[27]Yao and Shun.
[28]Yü, T'ang and Wen-and-Wu. See Chap. 4, Footnote 13.
[29]*Analects*, XIII, XII.
[30]See Chap. 2, Footnote 16.
[31]See Chap. 4, Footnote 13.
[32]See Sect. 7.5.1.
[33]993–1059 A.D. Styled Yi-chih, also called the Master An-ting.

contemplation and be influenced by him.' Therefore he who is the object of contemplation of the people must be like a royal worshipper in the ancestral temple [when he is most solemn] at the commencement of the service when he has washed his hands, but must not be like him after he has presented his offerings. Then the subjects will look up to him with reverent regard and absolute sincerity…. The washing of the hands is the beginning of the service when one is most solemn and full of sincerity. After the presentation of the offerings, having gone through numerous ceremonial steps, one's mind is less concentrated and his attentiveness is not so good as at the commencement when the hands are washed…."—*IC, II, 18b: 7–11 (YK, Hex. 20).

"… But I believed there are three things which are more essential than these.[34] Allow me to state them before Your Majesty. The first is the making up of the mind. The second is the entrusting of responsibility. The third is the seeking for the worthy….

"What I mean by the making up of the mind is this: that with utmost sincerity and singleness of heart [Your Majesty] will take [the carrying out of] the Tao as Your Majesty's own responsibility, being confident that the teachings of the sages are absolutely believable and that the political achievements of the sage-kings are absolutely practicable, not being hindered by current usages, nor misled by the opinions of the crowd, but determined to enable the empire to arrive at a status comparable to the times of the Three Dynasties…."[35]—A letter to the Emperor written for his father. *#ICWC, I, 3a: 1–2, 5–7.

The King's Duty Towards His Ministers He must make a careful selection of right persons to whom he can entrust the responsibility of the government.

"What I mean by the entrusting of responsibility is this: that the country being so extensive and the population so large, a person cannot rule alone. He must rely on the assistance of worthy ministers in order that the affairs of the empire may be properly accomplished. There has never been a sage-king from of old who has not made it the first thing to seek to entrust [the responsibility of the government] to [able] ministers…. The essential step in entrusting such a responsibility is careful selection. Selecting carefully one knows the persons clearly. Knowing the persons clearly one believes in them truly. Believing in them truly one trusts them wholeheartedly. Trusting them wholeheartedly, one treats them with generosity and commits great responsibilities to them…. All the present great ministers are choice material picked by the late emperor, and men of great reputation in the empire. [Their usefulness] depends on how much Your Majesty will entrust them with responsibilities…."—*#ICWC, I, 3b: 10–12; 4a: 1–3; 5a:1–2.

The King's Duty Towards the Scholars But in order to secure right personnel for the achievement of good government, it is essential that the king do all within his power to seek out worthy scholars and appoint them to offices. Ch'eng I criticized

[34]Here reference is made to the most urgent and fundamental things to be taken up for the welfare of the empire at a time when there was outward peace but when imminent danger was threatened.
[35]See Chap. 2, Footnote 16.

the way in which examinations were carried out as a wrong method for picking up the best person for imperial service. He thought that a good system of recommendation would work out better. If, he said, all the officials who are able to recommend good persons for government employment are consistently promoted, and all those who keep the virtuous from being known are repudiated, the government will soon be filled with good men.

"What I mean by the seeking for the worthy is this: the sage-kings of the ancient times were able to achieve good government for the empire; they did it with no other technique than that of ensuring that all officials in the imperial court and throughout the empire were fit for their [specific] responsibilities. How were they able to be fit for their responsibilities? Simply because of the fact that worthy men were put in the offices and able men were given the posts. But how could they secure the worthy and the able for employment? Simply because they knew how to seek for them…. To try to secure worthy men of the empire by using the present scheme of subjects of examinations and by adopting the present method of procedure in the appointments to office, is like planning to go to the [southern] state of Yüeh[36] by getting the shafts of the carriage in a northward direction: is it not far off the mark?… If Your Majesty could truly, with one heart and purpose, and by tireless efforts, concentrate on the seeking for worthy men, always apprehensive lest any men of ability be left unappreciated, promoting those ministers who are able to recommend the worthy and the able, repudiating those who by keeping the virtuous from being known grasp power for themselves, if, I say, Your Majesty could truly do this, the whole empire would naturally turn towards your [virtuous] influence. From men of the lowest rank up to those the highest, who would not deem it a good deed to put other persons first, who would not consider it an urgent matter to recommend the wise and virtuous? When seeking and appointing are thus carried out extensively, no man of talent and virtues is left in obscurity. Scholars will then be held in higher esteem, and their moral integrity will become firmer. Honesty and sense of shame will prevail, and public morals will become refined. Will any worthy man in the empire be left behind? None. But since all worthy men in the empire are secured it goes without saying that the empire will be properly governed."—*#ICWC, I, 5a: 10–12; 5b: 7–8; 6a: 10–6b: 1.

"… Since ancient times whenever the ruler has humbled himself to seek for worthy men in the empire, [and whether he has sought for them] with absolute sincerity and in the central and correct way, it has never happened but that he has found them…."—*IC, III, 51b: 5–6 (YK, Hex: 44: 5).

Further references on this topic: *IC, II, 17b: 11–13; *IC, III, 59a: 3–4; *IC, II, 14b: 5–7; *IC, I, 19a: 12–13; *IC, II, 42b: 5–7.

"Ancient sages who occupied the most venerable position [of the empire], even though their discerning intelligence was sufficient to understand all things, their strength of determination sufficient to make all decisions, their influence sufficient to grasp all power, yet they never failed to listen to the opinions of all the people,

[36]The present province of Chekiang.

taking heed even of the rustics. This is how they were able to be sages, for they were able to occupy the imperial throne and remain enlightened. Had they trusted in their own strength and intelligence, and been determined to carry out their own decisions without paying attention to public opinion, even when they were in the right, it would have been a dangerous way to pursue: how could they have held firm to their position? If it is dangerous for those who have the gifts of strength and intelligence to trust in themselves, how much more for those who lack these gifts."—*IC, I, 39b: 9–12 (YK, Hex. 10: 5). Already quoted in Sect. 6.2.2.1.

The King's Duty Towards the People The king's essential duty towards the people is to reign as a benevolent sovereign by practicing the Way of the Sage-Kings. This means a benevolent heart expressed in benevolent actions. In his letters to the emperor, he warned that in spite of superficial peace and tranquillity the empire was threatened with impending danger and disorder. He pointed out that the people were living on a level of subsistence with no margin of surplus to pull themselves through days of want. He also pointed out that the government was doing a poor job by calling attention to the fact that nowhere in the empire were the government granaries filled with grain for more than one year. Should there be famine for two years or more, as is not infrequently the case in North China, what could the people do? The old and the weak would die as beggars, while the able-bodied would turn brigands and criminals. That could not be called benevolent government. Under such circumstances, he was concerned with the fact that there were more than one million soldiers in the army fed by the state with the people's grains and engaged in no production. He thought that that was a serious matter and hoped that something could be done about it.

"… Now I beg to discuss the affairs of the empire: I wonder whether in Your Majesty's opinion the empire is secure or in danger…. The present situation may well be likened to a man who, having put fire under a heap of wood, lies down on it, saying while the flame has not yet come up that the place is safe enough. It is written in the Book of History[37]: 'The people are the root of the state. When the root is firm the state is tranquil.' I believe that the way to make the 'root' firm is to make life secure for the people. The way to make life secure for the people is to enable them to have an adequate provision of food and clothing. At present the people in the whole empire are poor and exhausted, not having sufficient to eat or wear. They plough the fields and sow seeds in the spring, and wait anxiously for the harvest. Should the crops fail in any one year, they are bound to become wandering beggars. When the 'root' is like this, it is certainly not to be called 'firm'…. Not only have the people no surplus food to be stored against times of need, but also the government granaries are empty. I have noticed that in the area around the capital and for that matter throughout the empire, there is no place where there is a storage of grain for two years. If there should be a continuous famine for more than one year, as happened in the reign of Ming Tao,[38] I do not know how the government

[37] *Shu King*, III, III, 2.
[38] 1032–1033 A.D.

can ever face it. The nation feeds an army of more than a million soldiers who are unproductive. When they can not be provided for, increased taxation may be levied from the people. [When the people find it too much for them], they will disperse. Then strong enemies may take the advantage from without, and able scoundrels conspire from within, and the danger of the disintegration [of the empire] would become serious indeed…."—*#ICWC, I, 14b: 6–11; 15a: 2–5 ("Letter to Emperor Jen Tsung", dated 1050 A.D. at the age of 18).

"… I venture to say that at present when no trouble has happened to the empire and when the people's lives are not threatened with actual danger, it is advisable that Your Majesty should be vigilant at heart, and be desirous to practice the Way of the Sage-Kings…. I am of the opinion that the essence of the Way of the Sage-Kings is benevolence. I see that Your Majesty's benevolence is the benevolence of [the sage-emperors] Yao and Shun. Nevertheless the empire is not yet well governed. The true reason is none other than this: that there is a benevolent heart without benevolent political practices. That is why Mencius said, 'There are now princes who have benevolent hearts, and a reputation for benevolence, while yet the people do not receive any benefits from them, nor will they leave any example to future ages;—all because they do not put into practice the way of the ancient kings.'[39]…"—*#ICWC, I, 15b: 5–6; 10–12 ("Letter to Emperor Jen Tsung", dated A.D. 1050 at the age of 18).

"The Second Moon and the Fifteenth Day: Ch'eng I (Ch'eng-shu) lectured [before His Majesty the Emperor] on [the following passage from the *Analects*]: 'Tzu-kung asked, saying: Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life? The Master said: Is not shu or reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others.'[40] He said that the sovereign ought to put himself in the position of his subjects in order to have a sympathetic understanding of their hunger and cold, and their hard toil in raising crops…."—WS, XII, 1b: 11–12. From the *Diary* of Fan Tsu-yü (Ch'un-fu).

[Text]: "In the summer, the city wall of Chung-ch'iu was completed."

[Comment]: "The purpose of having a ruler over the people is that he may nourish them. In nourishing the people the ruler must be considerate in demanding their physical strength. When the people have sufficient physical strength, their livelihood will be satisfactory. Livelihood being satisfactory, education and moral influence will prevail, and the way of life will become refined. Hence good government requires that full attention should be paid to [the conservation of] people's physical strength. In the *Spring and Autumn Annals,* every employment of people's physical strength was recorded. Undertakings which were untimely and unrighteous were recorded, obviously because they were wrong. But those that were timely and righteous were also recorded, in order to show that the employment of people's labour was a serious matter of the state…. In completing the building of the city

[39]*Mencius,* IV, I, I, 2.
[40]*Analects*, XV, XXIII. Abridgment in the original quotation is here restored.

wall of Chung-ch'iu, the people were used in an untimely way. This certainly did not befit the heart of a virtuous ruler."—*CS, IV, 8b: 1–4, 8.

"It is not possible that anything should continue to be difficult to the very end. When the difficulty comes to its limit it will be relieved. The hexagram Chieh means to loosen or to relieve. It is that which is to come after the hexagram Chien [which means difficulty]…. It symbolizes the removal of difficulty and adversity…. It indicates the time when difficulties and adversities in the empire are removed."

"When difficulties of the empire have just been removed, the people who have just been relieved from sufferings must not be governed with harshness and severity, but must be treated with liberality and simplicity: which is the only right thing to do. When this is done, the People will be submissive and composed at heart…. When T'ang adopted liberal government after doing away with the tyranny of Chieh, when King Wu went back to the regular way of government of the Shang Dynasty after punishing the despotism of Chou, they were both following the idea of liberality and simplicity….[41]

"The constitution and laws of an empire must first have been discarded and ruined before calamities spring up. The sage having removed the difficulties and brought about peace and order, must restore good government, set right and make clear all laws and regulations, and go a step further to bring back the rule of the wise kings of previous dynasties. This is 'coming back', a return to moral law…. It is a common observation of history that whenever a sage-king engaged himself in saving the people from sufferings and bringing peace out of chaos, he did not at first have time to take immediate [new] actions. But when the nation had settled down, he took action to effect a government which would be lasting. Rulers since the Han dynasty as a rule did not take [new] actions after the discontinuance of disorder, but only tried to maintain the status quo. That was why they were not able to accomplish good government. Because they did not understand the idea implied in the phrase 'coming back'."—*IC, III, 32b: 6–33a: 6 (YK, Hex. 40).

b. The Ministers

Within the political hierarchy, the term 'ministers' includes all members of officialdom. They are expected to be scholar-statesmen in the fullest Confucian sense. Their political activities are expressions of their moral convictions. It is their highest mission to assist the king to realize a benevolent government by carrying out the Way of the Sage-Kings. In so doing, it is essential that they should secure the confidence and cooperation of the king. Should they fail in this, they would not need to be discouraged. If they are sincere enough, the king is bound to be won over. The following quotations in this regard are found in the *Commentary on the Book of Changes* written during Ch'eng I's banishment. It is astonishing how his

[41]T'ang and Wu were the sage-emperors of the Shang and Chou dynasties, respectively. Chieh and Chou were the last emperors of the Hsia and Shang dynasties, respectively, both of them (according to later chroniclers) being notorious despots.

faith in the efficacy of absolute sincerity[42] stood the tests of his political frustrations and remained unscathed after the years of unfortunate experiences.[43] The welfare of the people is of course the sole object of the service of the ministers. But they must also not forget the scholars. In order to realize good government, it is absolutely necessary that the ministers should seek the assistance of all the wise and worthy men of the empire and appoint them to offices.

"The prime minister shouldering the responsibility of the empire, must achieve peace and order in the empire, in order not to fail the trust of the emperor, the hope of the people, and his own intention in devoting himself to the cause of the Tao…."—*IC, IV, 15b: 1–2 (YK, Appendix II, Hex. 50: 4).

"… In serving the emperor the gentleman, when he fails to win his confidence, will with his utmost sincerity try to move his heart and regenerate his moral purposes. If his sincerity succeeds in moving him, then though the emperor's mind be obscured, it can be opened up; though the emperor's character be weak, it will be possible to give him assistance; though the emperor's heart be not upright, it can be rectified. The ancients who served commonplace rulers were yet able to carry out their moral convictions, because their sincerity was felt by the rulers and the rulers were able to have true faith in them…."—*IC, IV, 32b: 2–4 (YK, Hex. 55: 2). Ref. *IC, III, 26a: 12–13.

"If [the minister's] purpose is set upon bringing prosperity (increase) to the empire, the emperor is bound to have confidence in him and follow his advice. A minister does not need to worry about his sovereign not being willing to follow his advice. What he needs to worry about is the fact that his own purpose is not sincere."—*IC, III, 43b: 8–9 (YK, Appendix II, Hex. 42: 4).

"The fourth line represents the office of the prime minister, who bears the responsibility of the empire. The affairs of the empire cannot be shouldered by one single person. He must seek the assistance of the worthy and the wise in the empire. When he succeeds in securing the right persons, good government for the empire can readily be achieved. But if he should employ the wrong persons, he would ruin the affairs of the state and bring calamity on the empire…."—*IC, IV, 15a: 6–8 (YK, Hex. 50: 4).

c. The scholars

Following the Confucian tradition, Ch'eng I believed that the supreme calling of the scholars is to serve the nation through government offices. Before they are appointed, it is their duty to cultivate their personalities. After they are appointed, it is their duty to carry out their moral convictions. For the training of the scholars, Ch'eng I's statement of the idealized ancient educational system is interesting. It reminds one of Plato's training programmes for the philosopher kings.

"… He who occupies a low rank cannot do anything. When he wins the confidence of a high ranking minister [and is employed by him], he ought to assist his

[42]See the Concept of Ch'eng, Sect. 6.1.5.
[43]See Introduction Sect. 1.1.6.3.

superior by putting his moral convictions into practice, doing something which will bring great benefit to the empire….”—*IC, III, 41b: 9–16 (YK, Hex. 42: 1).

“… A gentleman of great virtues, who cherishes his moral convictions but is cramped and confined by reason of his lowly position in society, must be sought out and employed by some virtuous ruler before he can carry out what lies hidden in his mind….”—*IC, IV, 2b: 5–6 (YK, Hex. 47: 2).

“… When a worthy man is employed, then he himself is able to carry out his moral purposes, the emperor receives the credit of his accomplishments, and the people profit from his good works: thus everyone in the empire is benefited.”—*IC, IV, 7a: 9–10 (YK, Hex. 48: 3).

“In ancient times a boy was admitted in the primary school at the age of eight, and the academy[44] at the age of fifteen. Those who were promising were picked out and gathered together. Those who fell short of standard were sent back to the farms. For the scholar and the farmer do not exchange their callings. When a person joins the academy he is no more engaged in farming, so that the scholar and the farmer are clearly distinguished.

“With regard to the financial support of the scholars, the sons of the official class do not need to worry about their own support. Even the sons of the ordinary people, once they have joined the academy, are sure to get their support. Scholars of ancient times, counting from the time they entered academies at fifteen until the time when they became officials at forty, had a period of twenty-five years during which they could devote themselves to studies. There was no temptation to go after wealth, so that [the singleness of] their purpose was assured. Being away from the temptation of wealth[45] and pursuing [constantly] after the good, their virtuous character were thus formed. [It is different, however, with] men of later generations, who from the time of childhood already show strong inclinations towards the pursuit of wealth: how can they be expected to go after the good? That is why the ancients had to wait till forty before they entered civil service, to make sure that their life purpose was stabilized. For though it is harmless to earn food and clothing, it is most injurious to fall into the temptation of seeking after wealth and prosperity.”

“To be an official [for the sake of wealth and power] takes away a person’s moral purpose.”—#IS, XV, 17b: 10–18a: 3.

d. The People

We have seen that in Ch’eng I’s thought man is man by reason of the Li of Man in him. The Li is his nature. Human nature is Li.[46] This Li is the same in every man. From this point of view, and from the point of view that every man can achieve perfect personality,[47] we can see how in the Confucian tradition, and especially in Ch’eng I, the dignity of man as a man is assured to members of all political strata.

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[44]The terms “primary school” and “academy” are hisao-hsüeh and ta-hsüeh in Chinese.

[45]The context here indicates the need to supply the character li or wealth after ch’ü (away from) although our texts agree in not having it.

[46]See Sect. 5.2.3.

[47]See Chap. 5, Introductory paragraphs.

Some people may be poor, others may be low in social rank, or they may have had no opportunity for good education, but they are men just the same and must be treated as such.

However, because of the difference in the purity of the energies with which men are endowed,[48] and because of the difference in their opportunities of education and in the efforts of the cultivation of personality, men in actually are different in their power of the understanding of moral truth. Thus the ordinary people may not be expected to have the same amount of moral knowledge. But they are not to be blamed for it. It is a matter of education the responsibility for which lies with the state.[49]

"… 'Men of inferior rank' means the ordinary people. They see things darkly and superficially, and are unable to understand the way of the gentleman: this is their regular lot, and cannot be blamed on them. Should the gentleman do so, then it would be a matter of regret."—*IC, II, 19b: 7–8 (YK, Hex. 20: 1).

It was asked, "Confucius said: 'The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it': does it mean that the Sage did not want them to understand or does it mean that the people are unable to understand?"

He said, "It does not mean that the Sage did not want the people to understand. The Sage in laying down instructions naturally desired every household to understand them so that entire neighbourhoods could become eligible for promotion to nobility.[50] But the fact was that the Sage was only able to make the people follow a path of action: for how could he enable every single person to understand it? This is because the Sage is unable to do it. Therefore it is said, 'they may not be made to understand it.' If you say that the Sage did not want the people to understand, how can this befit the heart of the Sage? …"—IS, XVIII, 28b: 11–20a: 1.

The people may lack moral understanding, and they are nevertheless the "root of the state".[51] It is they whom the ruler, the ministers and the scholars are out to serve. In this sense, the Confucian idea of government is essentially a government for the people." When Ch'eng I wrote about the political career of his brother Ch'eng Hao, he said:

"When he was magistrate, he regarded the people as his children…. The people loved him as a parent."—*ICWC, VII, 3a: 8–9.

This is characteristic of the Confucian attitude, which is essentially paternalistic.

In principle, therefore, the government is a government "for the people". But whether it is also one "of the people" and "by the people" requires separate considerations. Did Ch'eng I ever have the idea of a government by the people? From his paternalistic attitude, we could perhaps safely infer that he believed in government by the cooperation of the people[52] but not by the active participation of the

[48]See Sect. 5.2.4.
[49]See Appendix F, 1, (2), c.
[50]The last clause is a description of political success under the sage-emperors Yao and Shun.
[51]See Footnote 37.
[52]See Appendix F, 1, (2), a.

people. Did he believe in the idea of government "of the people"? The answer he might have given is that the government is not exactly of the people nor of the ruling classes, but of Heaven. The members of the ruling class rule by the appointment of Heaven. They are agents by whom the will of Heaven is carried out[53] for the good of the people. But the interesting thing is that the Confucianists believed that the people represent the will of Heaven. "Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear," says the *Shu King*,[54] and this quotation is constantly on the lips of Confucian scholars. When the ruling class reaches a certain limit of degeneration, Heaven's appointment is changed. It is reflected in the wishes of the people, and a revolution takes place.

(2) Principle and Practice of Government

a. The Concept of Political Change

The principle of change, according to Ch'eng I, is inherent in natural law. As there are cyclical changes in the four seasons, so there are periodical changes in the political order of the empire. He endorsed the idea that the dynastic revolutions carried out by the sage-kings were done in accordance with the ordinance of Heaven and in response to the wishes of the people. But he did not go into the question of the right of revolution as Mencius did.[55] He chiefly dwelt rather on the idea of political reforms. According to him, political changes must be carried out at the right time. For a right time means that there is a real need and that circumstances are ripe for action. Moreover, they must be carried out by the man in the right position and with the right talent. Above all, every major change must be done with the full confidence and cooperation of the people. The people are instinctively suspicious of any change. They must first be taught to understand until they believe in the new measures. When it is the right time for making a change, it is the duty of the ruler or minister to undertake to do it. If for lack of courage or determination he fails to do so, it is a loss of opportunity and a neglect of obligation.

This discussion is specially interesting when we bear in mind that the *Commentary*, from which most of the date on this subject are drawn, was written during Ch'eng I's banishment by the regime of the radical party under the leadership of the followers of Wang An-shih.[56] Wang An-shih and his friends had undertaken drastic political changes. Ch'eng I also was in favour of change. It seems that he agreed with his opponents in believing that it was a right time for some change. His greatest criticism of Wang An-shih and his friends, as indicated in the date here quoted, would seem to be their failure to give due regard to public opinion.[57]

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[53]See Appendix F, 1, (1), a. of the present Appendix above.
[54]*Shu King*, V, I, ii.
[55]E.g., *Mencius*, I, II, VIII.
[56]See Introduction Sect. 1.1.6.3.
[57]Whether Ch'eng I was justified in his criticism is another question. Because the opposition to Wang An-shih's reform measures was voiced by the officials and the educated class. How the masses felt about them remains to be examined.

In other words, he felt that the radical party carried out changes without first winning the people's confidence, thus acting against their wills. "To be able to achieve good government," said he, "without the people's confidence, such a thing has never been heard of before."

[Text]: "The heaven and the earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions. T'ang changed the appointment [of the line of Hsia to the throne], and Wu [that of the line of Shang], in accordance with [the will of] Heaven, and in response to [the wishes of] men. Great indeed is what takes pace in a time of change."

[Comment]: "Here the discussion of the principle of change is carried to the limit of its application in the changes of the heaven and the earth and the beginning and end of the cyclical movement of time. The heaven and the earth, the yin and the yang, move and change in order to complete the functions of the four seasons. All creatures and things are thus enabled to grow and to attain their ends, each according to what is fit. This is what is meant by the expression 'the heaven and the earth undergo their changes, and the four seasons complete their functions'.

"When the cyclical movement of time comes to an end, there is bound to be some one who changes [things] and brings in a new [order]. Royal rulers arise by receiving appointment from Heaven. That is why the change of dynasty is called 'the change of appointment'. When T'ang and Wu became royal rulers they did it in accordance with the appointment of Heaven above, and in response to the wishes of men below…."—*IC, IV, 9a: 6–9 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 49: 3).

"The way of government may be considered both from the aspect of what is fundamental and from the aspect of practical affairs. Considered from the aspect of what is fundamental, it must begin with the rectifying of what is wrong in the mind of the ruler[58]: rectifying the mind [of the ruler] in order to rectify court ministers, and rectifying court ministers in order to rectify all officials. Considered from the aspect of practical affairs, if one does not want to save [the nation] then one may do nothing. If, however, one is determined to save [the nation], changes must be made. Great changes will bring great benefits. Small changes will bring small benefits."—#IS, XV, 17a: 6–8.

"Possessing the talents and virtues of the subject of the second line, occupying his particular position and living in his particular time, he is fully qualified to change the evil practices and renew the government of the empire. He ought to go forward and assist the sovereign in order to carry out his moral convictions. The actions he takes will be 'fortunate'. 'There will be no error'. If he does not go forward, he loses the opportunity when something could be done; then 'there will be error'….

"… It means that if, at a time when one may change the evil practices in the empire and renew its affairs, one remains where he is without going forth, it shows that he does not have the intention to help the world and save the empire from evil

[58]Quoted from *Mencius*, IV, I, XX.

practices. He loses his opportunity and 'there is error'."—*IC, IV, 10a: 3–4, 9–10 (Y, Hex. 49: 2; Appendix II, Hex. 49: 2).

"… Occupying a position which is above men of the lower ranks in a time of change, if there are things which ought to be changed and yet on account of fear one does not go ahead and do them, one loses an opportunity and does harm. But, [if one wants to do them] one must be extremely careful. One must not rely on one's own strength and wisdom, but must investigate public opinion. If the change is carried out after having been 'three times [discussed and] found to be in accord with the people's wishes', there will be no fault."—*IC, IV, 10b: 3–5 (YK, Hex. 49: 3).

"When changes are being made the confidence of the common people cannot readily be gained. Hence it requires a considerable length of time (lit. a whole day) before changes are accepted. He who occupies a high position ought, at the time of making a change, to take time to instruct the people in full detail and make announcements time and again in order to win the confidence of the people. If the people are suspicious (lit. do not believe), even though they are forced to do it, nothing can be accomplished. In the case of the edicts of the ancient [sage] kings, there might have been times when the people distrusted them at first. But after a long time they were bound to believe in them. To be able to achieve good government without having the people's confidence, such a thing is absolute unheard of."—*IC, IV, 8b: 11–13 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 49: 2). Ref. *IC, II, 50b: 7–8.

"… When in undertaking a change one is able to base his action on the understanding of the underlying Li of things and to seek the harmonies cooperation of the people, there will be 'great progress and success' and what is done will be 'correct'. When change thus takes place 'in the proper way', 'occasion for repentance disappears'. When affairs of the empire are changed in the wrong way, they become injurious. Hence 'occasion for repentance' is implied in the principle of change. But when changes are made properly, then 'occasion for repentance' in both the old and the new disappears."—*IC, IV, 9a: 3–5 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 49: 2).

"Change is a great undertaking. It requires the right time, the right position, and the right talent. It also requires careful thinking and cautious action in order to avoid 'an occasion for repentance'."—*IC, IV, 9b: 3 (YK, Hex. 49: 1).

When laws are made, they must be carried out with a resolution and with absolute justice. In making this point, he touched one of the greatest difficulties in Chinese ethical and political life, namely the problem of the relation of family love to political justice.

"… Ever since ancient times it has often happened that after laws were drawn up and legislation enacted, they were hampered by personal relationships and prevented from being eventually carried out. For example, in the prohibition of extravagance obstruction arose [because it was awkward to enforce the law on] the near relatives [of the royal family], or in the restriction on the purchase of farm land, hindrance came up [because it was difficult to apply the legislation to families of the nobility]. Cases like these, where one is unable to take decisive actions in the spirit of absolute justice and persistently carry things out, illustrate the fact that one is hindered by selfish friendships…."—*IC, I, 42a: 10–12 (YK, Hex. 11: 2).

In taking necessary actions for the good of the empire, it is sometimes unavoidable to shed blood. But if the action is righteous and must be done, one must go ahead and do it.

"… I was telling Sun Chüeh that Chu-ke Liang had the air of a true Confucian. He said he did not agree. Because, argued he, no sage or worthy man will commit one act of unrighteousness or put to death one innocent person even if by doing so he may obtain the empire.[59] But Chu-ke Liang in trying to preserve one single kingdom killed one does not know how many people. I told him that while it is true that one may not commit one act of unrighteousness or put to death one innocent person in order to benefit one's own self, yet what harm does it do to kill many lives when one punishes the rebels of the empire by the forces of the empire? When Ch'en Heng murdered his sovereign, Confucius requested [Duke Ai] to punish him.[60] Could Confucius guarantee that [in sending troops] to punish Ch'en Heng, no one would be killed? For in carrying out a punishing campaign against the rebels of an empire there are things that one cannot help doing…"—IS, XVIII, 38a: 10–38b: 1.

b. Land Reform

A very interesting passage found in the *Complete Works* has to do with the perennial problem of land reform. It is the record of a discussion between Chang Tsai and the two Ch'eng brothers before the death of the former in the year 1077 A. D. It reflects the trend of political thinking among some of the most active minds of the time. The nation was suffering from internal political strife and external military aggression. Wang An-shih (1021–1086 A.D.) had just resigned from public service.[61] But political controversies between his party and that of Ssu Ma Kuang (1019–1086 A.D.) were still going on. Under such circumstances, scholars, who represent the thinking public, were naturally deeply concerned with the nation's political issues, especially with the life of the common people.

The discussion about land reform was based on the alleged Chou Dynasty system called the ching-t'ien or nine-squares farm system.[62] According to that, a piece of land of one li (about 1/3 mile) square is divided into nine allotments in the form of the character ching (meaning a well), i.e., in tree rows of three square pieces, each of which is of the size of one hundred mu (the present mu is equal to about 15/100 acre).[63] Eight families work on this piece of land each taking care of one allotment and owning its products. The ninth allotment which is in the centre is the common farm, for the cultivation of which the eight families are responsible as

[59] *Mencius,* II, A, II, 24.
[60] *Analects*, XIV, XXII, 1–2.
[61] Wang An-shih resigned in the latter part of 1076 A.D., while the discussion was dated 1077. See Ch'en Pang-chan, op. cit., bk. 37; Appendix B of the present book, under "Book X".
[62] For a short bibliography on the question whether the ching-t'ien system is a historical fact, see J. J.L. Duyvendak, *The book of Lord Shang*, Probsthain, London, 1928, p. 42, Footnote 1.
[63] This is according to *Mencius*, III, I, III, 13–20. But the area of the ching seems to vary in different parts of the Empire. See Duyvendak, Ibid. p. 41f.

their duties to the feudal lord.[64] The system just described had been hallowed down through the centuries as an ideal measure initiated and practiced by the sages, but lost since the latter part of Chou. Confucianists since Mencius had been dreaming of its restoration. Upon this basis, our philosophers in the discussion believed that all the arable land in the empire should be redistributed equally among the farming population. The proposition was drawn up by Chang Tsai. But our material shows that both the Ch'eng brothers fully endorsed the idea. Moreover, towards the close of the discussion, Ch'eng I seemed eager to get down to the point as to how it could actually be carried out. However, with the unequal status of land ownership in the Sung Dynasty as it is indicated in the text,[65] our philosophers were not unaware that its practice was going to mean radical change, hence Cheng' I's warning that it must not be put into practice unless one could make sure that it was not going to go against the feelings of the people.[66]

Yung-hsiu asked whether the "ching-t'ien" or nine-squares system of land distribution was practicable today. He said, "How can anything which was practicable in the ancient time be impracticable in the present day? …"—IS, XXII A, 10b: 2.

"Cheng-shu (Ch'eng I) said that among the men he had met, there were many who worked on the scriptures and discussed the Tao, but in being willing to talk about practical problems of government there is none like Tzu-hou (Chang Tsai)."—#IS, X, 1a: 12.

"The two Ch'eng said that physical features of land need not be level so as to mark square boundaries. Mathematical methods may be used to figure out the right areas of land to be given to the people.

"Chang Tsai[67] said[68] that boundaries of land division must be correctly defined first.[69] When boundaries are not defined correctly no legal measure can be definite. An area of land may be determined by [the straight lines] between the four survey staffs, irrespective of the existence of mound or hollow…. Furthermore, boundaries must be made in strictly north-south direction. Where physical features of land are irregular, boundary lines [will be drawn just the same] without trying to avoid the crookedness caused by the appearance of hills and rivers. Where sufficient arable land falls within the shape of a ching,[70] let it be a ching. Where it is impossible to form a ching, be there five or seven plots, three or four plots, or even one single plot [it does not matter], for the number of arable plots is there, [and an arrangement according to the ching-t'ien or nine-squares system of farming can still be worked

[64]Since *Mencius* mentioned a tithe as an alternative to the cultivation of the ninth allotment, it seems that the tithe as simpler method was practised when the strictly nine-squares arrangement is difficult to work out. See Footnote 71.
[65]#IS X, 1b: 12–13.
[66]Ibid.
[67]The recorder Su Ping refers to all the three masters by their styles for the sake of courtesy. Here for the convenience of English readers, their official names are supplied instead.
[68]The character wei for "not yet" is a mistake of wei for "said". Here the *Wan Yu* Text is followed.
[69]See *Mencius*, III, I, III, 13.
[70]See introductory note of the present section, under "Land Reform", in the present Appendix above.

out]. Even where there is not sufficient arable land to form one single allotment, it is always possible to find land elsewhere to make up one full allotment of 100 mu; so that under whatever circumstances the scheme is thoroughly workable. Thus land boundaries will be drawn in spite of mountains and rivers. When boundary lines are fixed in this way, they can stand for hundreds of years; not even oppressive rulers or corrupt officials would be able to destroy them.[71] It is not true that the destruction of boundary lines took place entirely in the Ch'in Dynasty (221–207 B.C.). It had begun long before that and the process was gradual.

"Ch'eng I said that in the state of Lu it was said that not even the taxation of two-tenths brought sufficient returns for expenditure,[72] and raised the question how it might be kept down to one-tenth.

"Chang Tsai said that [in the expression in Mencius that the founder of the Chou Dynasty enacted] the hundred mu allotment and the system of Ch'e,[73] if the word ch'e is interpreted as 'to take away', it is meaningless. Rather is it to be understood as 'to be thorough-going'. When farming is thorough-going, work and labour will be even. Moreover, by mutually urging on, no family can be lazy. When the harvest is over, the grains may be divided up according to the number of mu [of land]; if tithing is adopted, one-tenth may be taken.[74]

"Someone present remarked that the proposition [of the restoration] of the nine-squares system should not lightly be told to people for fear of bringing ridicule and criticism.

"Chang Tsai said that there must be ridicule and criticism so that one may benefit therefrom. If someone should hear of the idea and take it upon himself to work it out, as indeed you, Sir, have well put it, 'If someone is able to do it, I wish to receive a site for a house, and to become one of his people,'[75] that would be very fortunate.

"Ch'eng Hao expressed the opinion that in adopting the nine-squares system one would have to take the people's land and redistribute it so that the rich and the poor might have equal shares. In that case, many would be willing and few unwilling.

"Ch'eng I said that that was uncertain. When the people are made to cherish grievance and anger against any measure, then it becomes simply a matter of whether the thing ought or ought not to be done. General absence of grievance and anger in both the upper and lower classes must be affected before it can be put into practice."

"Ch'eng I remarked also that the contents of the proposition was complete in the main; what remained was how to carry it out.

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[71]Ref. *Mencius*, III, I, III, 13.

[72]*Analects*, XII, IX.

[73]pai mu erh ch'e. Ch'e was rendered "share system" by Lagge. See *Mencius*, III, I, III, 6.

[74]In *Mencius*, III, I, III, 15, two alternative methods of taxation were suggested, namely service rendered to the state on the ninth, or the public, field by the eight families working on the "nine-squares" farms, or the paying of a tenth part of farm produce. Here the latter method is referred to.

[75]The latter part of the expression is from *Mencius* III, I, IV, 1.

"Chang Tsai replied, 'How dare I? I only intend to write it out in a book, with the hope that someone may adopt the idea.'

"Ch'eng I declared that it made no difference if one's ideas were not carried out during his lifetime but are carried out in later generations.

"Chang Tsai said, '[It is written]: "Virtue alone is not sufficient for the exercise of government; laws alone cannot carry themselves into practice."[76] Again, [it is said in effect that] there are those who have benevolent hearts and a reputation for benevolence, while yet they are unable to realize a good government, all because they do not put into practice the ways of the ancient kings.[77] We must imitate the ancient kings.'

"Ch'eng I remarked that these sayings of Mencius were well put. For by the sheer power of the eyes, how can one bring into perfection the square and the circle, the plain and the straight line. One must certainly depend on the compass, the square, etc."—#IS, X, 1a: 13–2a: 4.

c. Education

Ch'eng I held that education was an essential condition of good government. It is the secret of the idealized successful administration of the sage-kings. All men within the empire are entitled to education. When that is not provided, the scholars at least must be adequately trained. The nature of education is of course not merely intellectual. It must aim at the development of personality. When that kind of education is universally provided, laws and punishment will still be instituted, but they will rarely be used at all. Ritual and music play an important role in the programme of education, ritual especially, not only because of its educational value in the narrow sense, but also because of the significance of the idea of propriety in the social order which we have already had occasion to mention above.[78]

"… I venture to say that the essential way to take care of the people is education. That was why in ancient times places of instruction were found in the family, the village, and the state. A person was sent to the primary school at the age of eight, so that there was no one in the empire who was not educated. Since all men in the empire were educated, the ordinary subjects cultivated their own persons, while the gentleman illustrated moral truth. Consequently worthy and able men gathered at court, and a high moral spirit prevailed among the people. Propriety and right conduct were universally practiced. Habits and usages became refined. Punishments were instituted but no one committed any crime. This is the prosperous administration of the Three Dynasties successfully achieved through education.[79]

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[76] *Mencius*, IV, I, I, 3.
[77] *Mencius,* IV, I, I, 2.
[78] See Sect. 2.3.1.5.
[79] The government of the Three Dynasties here and elsewhere described is to be understood not as a historical fact, but as a myth representing the political ideal of the Confucian tradition. For the term "Three Dynasties" see Chap. 2, Footnote 16.

"Later generations, on the other hand, did not understand what is essential in government. Instead of making the people's hearts good, they urged them on by force. Laws were severely enforced from above, but education was not carried out among the social ranks below. When the people thus became reckless and depraved, they resorted to the use of punishments. Alas! Is this how fine customs and good government are to be achieved?

"Of late the imperial court, being convinced of this truth and desirous to work on what is essential, decreed that public schools and academies be established in all the seats of government from the capital down to the level of the district. Such a measure, though it may not be able to bring education to every household and every individual person as was accomplished in the ancient time, yet it is at least sufficient to educate the scholars. If education can be truly begun with the scholars, so that all who are called by that name understand moral truth and are content to lead a virtuous life, know the principles of government and the essentials of building up moral influence in the country: when as private subjects they are good enough to serve as models of good virtue for the local community, and when at the time of getting appointments they are good enough to be employed by the imperial court. If, I say, this can be done, then even though this modern attempt may not be able to compete with ancient education in its completeness, yet the essentials are grasped which will serve as steps leading gradually towards the ancient ideal status…."—*#ICWC, V, 2b: 4–12. "Letter written for my father requesting Yü-wen to accept the principalship of the Han Chou county academy."

"Great is the number of gifted persons in the empire. But, owing to the fact that moral truth is not widely taught (lit. not illustrated) in the empire, not many have had the chance to be perfected. In building up their moral personalities the ancients made a start in the *Odes*, were established through the practice of propriety, and were perfected by music. How can modern men do that? The ancients used the *Odes* as people now use songs. Even village children were familiar with their explanations and understood their meaning. That was why they were able to make a start in the *Odes*. In later generations not even aged teachers or old scholars understand their meaning, how can it be expected of the ordinary students? This is why modern men cannot make a start in the *Odes.* Since ancient rules of propriety have long been discarded and human relationships untaught, people do not even know the right way to regulate their families. This is why modern men cannot establish their moral characters through the practice of propriety. The ancients had singing by which to cultivate their dispositions, music by which to cultivate their ears, and dancing by which to cultivate their physiques. All these are now lost. That is why modern men cannot perfect themselves through music. It was easier to perfect a person in ancient times. It is much harder to perfect a person in these modern days."—IS, XVIII, 14a: 10–14b: 2.

The Master Ch'eng said, "It was easier for ancient scholars [to learn]; it is harder for modern scholars [to do the same]. The ancients entered the primary school at the age of eight, and the academy at fifteen, There were colourful ornaments by which

to cultivate their eyes, [harmonious] sounds by which to cultivate their ears, ceremonial attitudes by which to cultivate their bodies, singing and dancing by which to cultivate their mind. All these are now lost. Moral truth alone is left by which to cultivate the mind. [Being thus deprived of the facilities], should we not all the more make strenuous efforts [in order to achieve our purpose?]"—IS, XXI A, 1b: 3–5.

Soon after Ch'eng I had been appointed Expositor at Ch'ung Cheng Hall in 1086, he was commissioned with two other ministers to investigate the rules and regulations of the Imperial Academy.[80] The suggestions he made for the improvement of the Academy were many. First among them may be mentioned the establishment of the Hall of the Worthy.[81] The purpose of this was to provide facilities so that the Academy might entertain scholars of great virtues who happened to visit the capital. He pointed out that in the contemporary period the homes of great scholars like Hu Yüan (I-chih, also called the Master An-ting, 993–1059), Chang Tsai and Shao Yung[82] were crowded with scholars from all over the country. The latter came from places maybe hundreds of miles away, in order to make their acquaintance and hear them speak. When great scholars such as these were available, it would be a great inspiration for all students if the Academy could entertain them on the premises for a certain length of time.

A second recommendation was the abolition of the frequent competitive examinations in practice, and the adoption instead of a tutorial method by which the students were called in turn to have interviews with their tutors.[83]

A third recommendation was the reduction of the number of students to actual capacity of available dormitory facilities.[84] He pointed out that the old regulations permitted the admission of 2400 students when the dormitories could only reasonably accommodate 1500.

A fourth recommendation[85] was that for the education of the general public provisions be made so that visitors might see something of the life of the Academy. He mentioned two facts for illustration. Many years ago when Dr. Hu Yüan lectured on the *Book of Changes*, he said, many outsiders requested to be admitted to the audience. The number sometimes went up to about one thousand. When Sun Fu (Ming-fu, 992–1057) lectured on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, people from outside the Academy who came to the lectures during the first ten days were simply countless. They were admitted until the hall was absolutely packed. A great many people had to stand outside to listen. As a result, the study of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* became very popular.

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[80]IS, Appendix 8b: 12 ff. Documents in this connection are collected in *ICWC, III.
[81]Tsun Hsien T'ang, lit. Hall of Respect to the Worthy. See *ICWC, III, 2b: 11 ff; 6a: 3–6b: 9.
[82]See Sect. 1.1.2 in Introduction.
[83]*ICWC, III, 1a: 4–7; 2b: 11–3a: 4; 6a: 3–6b: 9.
[84]*ICWC, III, 1b: 12ff; 3a: 13ff; 6a: 11ff.
[85]*ICWC, 5a: 8–5b: 6; 6b: 10.

He also recommended, besides many other things, that students in the Law Academy be required to study the scriptures and history, and that to the curriculum of the Military Academy the study of the *Hsiao King*, or *Classic of Filial Piety*, the *Analects,* and *Mencius* be added.[86] Unfortunately his recommendations were on the whole rejected by the conservative Board of Rites.[87] The President of the Board, Hu Tsung-yü, even went so far as to attack Ch'eng I as one who should not be allowed to serve in the court.[88]

d. Propriety

We have in chapters above dealt with the concept of propriety as natural order in the Confucian tradition, especially in Ch'eng I's thought.[89] This concept when applied to social and political life becomes the fundamental principle of social and political order. For propriety means that each person occupies his right place and maintains his right relationships with all other members of society. These relationships are complicated especially under the Confucian idea of graded love. A person's relationship to his father is different from his relationship to his son, or wife, or brother, or cousin, or neighbour, or king, or teacher. As relationships are different, one must act differently to each particular person according to what is required by his particular relationship to him. Such right relationships are maintained by the help of ritual. Rituals are practiced in everyday life. They include calling a person by his right name, regard for precedence. But they are dramatically enacted on ceremonial occasions, when every specific relationship is demonstrated by ritualistic acts. It goes without saying that when relationships are thus clearly illustrated, duties proper to each particular relationship are expected to be performed, and when duties are thus fulfilled, society is kept in order. Therefore Ch'eng I could say that "where propriety is observed, peace prevails. When propriety is violated, disorder sets in."

"Fundamentally speaking, 'Propriety' is nothing but order…."—IS, XVIII, 32b: 6 (Already quoted under Sect. 2.3.1.5).

"… Where natural order (or propriety) is observed, peace prevails. When natural order is violated, disorder sets in. Where natural order is preserved, [the reigning dynasty] is preserved. When natural order is discarded, [the reigning dynasty] perishes."—*ICWC, Appendix, 1b: 6. "Preface to the *Li Ki*," already quoted in Sect. 2.3.1.5.

"… The discrimination between high and low being made clear, the aims of the people will then be settled. The aims of the people being settled, the empire may be ordered. Without the aims of the people being settled, the empire cannot be ordered.

[86]*ICWC, III, 8b: 2–11.
[87]*ICWC, III, 5b: 12–11b: 1.
[88]IS, Appendix 9a: 3–4.
[89]Sects. 6.1.2 and 2.3.1.5.

In the ancient time from the dukes, nobles and high officials downward every office was held by a man of fit virtue. He occupies the position throughout his life, because he was given the right part. If the position did not fit his virtue, the sovereign would promote him to some other position that did. The scholar cultivated his learning. When learning was accomplished the sovereign sought him out. This had nothing to do with self-seeking motives. The farmer, the artisan, and the merchant each went about their work with diligence and each received their due and limited reward. Consequently they all had their settled aims, and the minds of all in the empire were thus able to be brought to a harmonious whole. In later generations from the common people and scholars up to the dukes and nobles, all aim daily at honour; farmers, artisans, and merchants all aim daily at wealth and luxurious life. With the minds of the whole people rushing together after profit, the empire is in confusion. How can it be brought to one harmonious whole? To try to prevent it from being disorderly is hard indeed. All this is owing to the fact that among 'high and low' there are no 'settled aims' ….'"—*IC, I, 38a: 5–11 (YK, Appendix II, Hex. 10).

e. The Rectification of Names

When the duke Ching of the state of Ch'i asked Confucius about government, Confucius replied, "There is government when the prince is prince and the minister is minister; when the father is father and the son is son."[90] Upon another occasion, when his disciple Tzu Lu said, "The prince of Wei has been waiting for you in order with you to administer the government. What will you consider the first thing to be done?" Confucius replied, "What is necessary is to rectify manes."[91] From that time on rectification of names has become a regular part of Confucian political doctrine, and has been specially emphasized by commentators on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. It means calling a person by his right name or title, giving him what is due to him, and expecting from what he owes to others, according to what is indicated by the name. Fundamentally this is part of the doctrine of propriety. There is a saying in the third class material which reads: "When names are rectified, the empire is settled."[92] This can well sum up Ch'eng I's position in this regard.

It will be noted that our philosopher here follows the Kung-yang and Ku-liang tradition in his interpretation of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, believing that the book was written by Confucius not as history but as a textbook on political ethics, and that the terse entries are carefully phrased to imply an ethical judgment on the persons or events in question. George A. Kennedy in his article: Interpretation of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*" showed with convincing proof the probability that the omissions and variations in the book are the result of natural causes beyond the control of the author,

[90] *Analects*, XII, XI.
[91] *Analects*, XIII, III, 1.
[92] IS, XXI B, 3a: 3.

and the improbability of their having any cryptographic meaning whatever.[93] This, however, does not eradicate the fact that the doctrine of the rectification of names was taught by Confucius and developed by later Confucianists, even though Kung-yang, Ku-liang and followers of their tradition were mistaken in basing their development of the doctrine on the *Ch'un Ch'iu*.

"… In the time of King P'ing[94] the idea of kingship had ceased to be practiced. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* made use of the Chou Dynasty to restore (lit. rectify) the law of the monarchy. Under Duke Yin, no record was made of his ascending the throne. This is to illustrate the real meaning of law in the very beginning.[95] The setting up of a feudal lord must be done by the appointment of the king. Duke Yin set himself up. Therefore his ascending the throne was not recorded, in order to show that the writer did not recognize him as a ruler [in the real sense of the term]…."—*CS, IV, 2a: 5–6.

"The high officials of feudal lords ought to receive their offices by the ordinance of the emperor. In those days, however, request for such an ordinance was no more made. Therefore [in the Annals] all high officials of feudal lords were recorded without titles, in order to show that the writer did not recognize them as officials…."—*CS, IV, 3b: 4–5.

"… In the earlier part of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* all [princes] who murdered the ruler were not called princes. For having committed such a great crime, they had served themselves from their fathers. How could they be their sons and grandsons any longer? … In the latter part of the book, every [prince] who committed such a crime in order to set himself up was called by name. This was done either to show that for the sake of kinship the duke had shown him too much favour, and given him too much responsibility, which led to the disorder, or to show how natural relationship had been violated and members of the family had turned enemies. In each case a specific meaning was intended…."—*CS, IV, 6a: 5–9.

f. Law and Punishment

From the Confucian point of view of the goodness of human nature, good government does not depend so much on law and punishment as on education and welfare measures. When the people have plenty to live on and are well educated, law and punishment will not be used to any large extent. Nevertheless, law and punishment are useful in that they serve to keep the people within bounds, and are therefore not to be totally ignored. The relation between law and natural law or Li was not discussed.

With regard to the handling of law, Ch'eng I believed that law must be observed according to its spirit and not according to its letter.

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[93]George A. Kennedy, "Interpretation of the *Ch'un Ch'iu*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 62, no. 1, March 1942, pp. 40–48.

[94]Accession of King P'ing, 770 B.C. In the latter part of his reign the Ch'un Ch'iu Period began.

[95]The *Spring and Autumn Annals* began with Duke Yin.

"… In order to dispel the ignorance of the subjects, punishments and prohibitions must be clearly shown them, letting them have something to fear, then proceed to educate them. It was the practice of the ancient sage-kings that they instituted punishments in order to regulate the people, and carried out education in order to improve their custom. Punishments having been provided, education became effective. Though the sage esteemed virtue and not punishment, yet the latter was not ignored. Hence as a primary step of government law is of prior importance…. If in ordering the empire one should rely exclusively on punishments, the people might be afraid, but their 'ignorance' would be 'dispelled'. If the people were merely saved from punishment without a real sense of shame, the [moral] influence of the government would not have been accomplished…. The purpose of drawing up laws and instituting punishments is in order to educate the people…."—*IC, I, 17b: 11–18a: 1, 4–5, 8 (YK, Hex. 4: 1; Appendix II, Hex. 4: 1).

"… There are millions of people in the empire. When they let loose their evil desires, the sovereign who attempts to bring them under control by force will not be able to succeed, even if the laws be strict and punishments severe. Everything has its essential point and every development has its hidden beginning. The sage knowing how to lay his hand on the vital points sees the minds of a million people as if they were one mind. He leads them and they go. He stops them and they halt. Hence without toiling he is able to order [the empire]. "… Take for instance the question of preventing robbery. The people have desires. When they see wealth their hearts are stirred. If they are not educated and if furthermore they are oppressed by cold and hunger, how can their desires be subdued even though punishment and death penalty be applied every day? The sage, however, knows the right way to restrain them. He does not rely on severity and punishment, but instead he works on good government and education, enabling the people to have [their livelihood by being engaged in adequate] occupations such as farming or sericulture, and to exercise moral judgment in regard to other people's possessions, so that the people would naturally refuse to steal even if they should be encouraged to do so. The way to bring evil under control, therefore, lies simply in knowing the root [of the problem] and attacking it at its vital points. One is not to resort to severe punishments, but on the other hand, he is to work on good government…."—*IC, II, 41a:7–9, 11–41b:3 (YK, Hex. 26:5).

"… Since one serves as an official in the present day, one ought to try to do something under the actual circumstances of the present day. Owing to the restrictions of the existing legislation, there are many who have found it impossible to do anything. As I look at it, however, I believe that if one tries to compromise there are still many things which one can do. When my late brother, the Master Ming Tao, was handling the affairs of a district[96] and the people, many of the things he did were generally considered to be outside the bounds of strictly legal procedure. But he was able to do it in such a way as never to violate the law, and people were not greatly startled either. One cannot say that by thus doing he was able to

[96]Ref. *ICWC, VII, 2a: 2–5; 5a: 11–5b: 2.

carry out his ethico-political convictions [lit. his purpose]. Nevertheless, in seeking to 'mend society in a small way'[97] he was far ahead of most of the present day officials. People might feel strange about such a way of doing things, but they would not go so far as to call it crazy. (When they do call it crazy, the thing would have been really startling.) Thus, with absolute sincerity one may say pursue such a course. When it comes to the point where one is not tolerated, one can always quit. What harm does it do? This is my humble opinion. I wonder what you think of it, Chin-pai…."—*ICWC, V, 9b: 1–5. "Letter in reply to Lü Chin-pai Chien-san)."

2. Social Ideas

Ch'eng I's social ideas are not so lofty and inspiring as some of his other ideas presented above. His concept of the female sex reflects a philosophy of nature in which the yang element is characterized as good and the yin element as evil. It also reflects a society in which women had a very inferior position. Women are thought to be without a clear understanding of moral truth and are ranked with small men and barbarians. Their proper character is to be meek and submissive.

In regard to the question of remarriage, he thought that wedlock is a lifelong relationship and that in principle a man should not marry again after losing his first wife.

But he maintains that no gentleman should hesitate to divorce his wife if she is found not to be fulfilling her functions as a wife.

If in Ch'eng I's thought womanhood is inferior, motherhood is quite otherwise. Mother is to be revered along with father. Brothers are to be loved because they are the sons of one's parents. Just as one loves the body and the belongings of one's parents, so must one love their sons.

(1) The Female Sex

"… To be able to obey even though one is unable to see [the reason for it] clearly, this is the way of the female. This in the case of a female is 'firm correctness'….

"For a gentleman not to be able to see the Great Way which is strong, masculine, central and correct, but merely to peep into its vague resemblance, even though he be able to obey, it is similar to the 'firm correctness of a female', and is 'a thing to be ashamed of'."—*IC, II, 20: 1, 4–5 (YK, Hex. 20: 2; Appendix II, Hex. 20:2).

"… He who marries a female desires to have one who is meek and obedient in order to establish family life…."—IC, III, 48b: 13 (YK, Hex. 44).

"… Whenever the female, the small (or unworthy) man, or the barbarian, is ascending in power, he or she should not be long associated with…."—*IC, III, 49a: 7 (YK, Appendix I, Hex. 44:2).

[97] *Mencius*, VII, I, XIII, 3.

(2) Remarriage and Divorce

"When man and woman are joined together in wedlock, [the union] is unchangeable throughout their lives. Hence according to the principle of propriety there should not be any remarriage.[98] From the high officials downward, when the mistress of the house is gone, and the essential functions of the family cannot be fulfilled,'[99] remarriage is allowed for the simple reason that there is no other alternative. But in the case of the king (lit. son of heaven) and the feudal lords, where all family duties can be taken care of by the concubines, there should not be any remarriage according to the principle of propriety…."—*CS, IV, 2b: 13–3a: 2.

It was asked whether one may divorce his wife. He said, "If the wife is unworthy what harm does it do to divorce her? Even a man like Tzu Ssu[100] did it. Nowadays ordinary people take divorce to be a shameful act and are therefore afraid to do it. It was otherwise with the ancients. When the wife is not good, she ought to be divorced. But owing to the fact that modern people take this as a serious matter, they usually secretly tolerate [dissatisfactions], not daring to expose them or when there is hidden evil, they try to conceal and sustain it, until the persons concerned give themselves over to unrestrained indulgence culminating in immorality: is that not harmful? For him who cultivates his person it is most urgent to regulate (lit. serve as model to) his family. Immediately one tries to cultivate the person, he must deal with the question of regulating the family."

It was asked again, "The ancients divorced their wives sometimes on the ground that the latter shouted at a dog in front of the mother-in-law, or that she cooked food without getting it thoroughly done. In cases like these there is no grave evil, why should they be divorced?"

He replied, "This is how the ancients practiced their generosity. The ancients did not utter an unkind word when they severed their relationship with a friend. The gentleman cannot bear to divorce his wife by exposing her great faults, and so he divorces her on the ground of a small mistake. From this one can see the greatness of his generosity. In the case of shouting at a dog in front of the mother-in-law, there must be very great wrongs behind it. It is because of these great wrongs

[98]A short discussion is recorded in the third class material, IS, XXII B, 3a: 5–7, in regard to the remarriage of widows which has been much quoted by modern writers as a basis for their attack upon the inhumanity of conventional Confucian ethical tradition. The record reads as follow:

"It was asked, 'In principle it seems that one may not marry a widow: What is your opinion, Sir?'

"He said, 'Right. Marriage means matching. Hence he who matches himself with one who has lost her matrimonial fidelity by marrying her has himself lost fidelity.'

"It was asked again, 'Suppose a widow is all alone and poor, with no one to depend on for support, may she marry again?'

"He said, 'It is only because of the fact that people of these later generations are afraid of cold and starvation that there has been such a supposition. But starvation is an extremely small matter while the loss of matrimonial fidelity is an extremely important matter.'"

[99]According to IS, XXII B, 4b: 13–5a: 3, which is third class material, the essential functions were given as services to the parents-in-law, sacrifices, and the heading up of affairs of the home.

[100]Confucius' grandson, believed to be Author A of the *Doctrine of the Mean.*

accumulated in the previous days that this one incident was taken as an excuse to divorce her."

Someone objected, "How then can she fail to grumble if she is divorced for such a small matter? Moreover, other people would not know who is right and who is wrong."

He answered and said, "She herself will surely know her own fault. Besides, when one does a thing he need only take heed that he does it in full accord with Li, why should he try to make everybody understand? Nevertheless the wise will naturally understand it. Whereas if one insists on making the wife's faults known in order to make people understand, it simply shows that he is a superficial man. The gentleman does not do a thing like this. When a man explains thing he tends to make others appear crooked and himself straight. But the gentleman possesses a spirit of tolerance."

Someone added, "An ancient proverb has it: 'In divorcing the wife one makes it possible for her to be married again. In breaking off relationship with a friend one makes it possible for him to have other friends.' Is this what you mean?"

He said, "Yes."—IS, XVIII, 45b: 2–13.

(3) Regulating the Family

"… To regulate the family is to regulate a group of people. Unless they are restrained with rules, people tend to go loose until there develop matters for regret (lit. until there is 'reason for repentance'). For instance precedence between seniors and juniors ceases to be maintained; discrimination between the two sexes becomes lax; affection is hurt, relationship is injured, and so on. If from the beginning they are restrained with rules nothing like this happens…."—*IC, III, 22a: 7–9 (YK, Hex. 37: 1).

"In family life in the relation between parents and children people generally let affection take precedence of propriety and let love take the place of right conduct. Only the strong man can so control his personal feelings that he is never diverted from moral truth…."—*IC, III, 22b: 2–3 (YK, Hex. 37:2)

"In regulating the family it is impossible to do without absolute sincerity. Hence one must be sincere at heart so that one can continue long, and members of the family can be influenced and become good…. Therefore for the regulating of the family it is essential 'to be possessed of sincerity'. In the affectionate relationships with one's wife and children, excessive tenderness tends to eliminate [a due degree of] sternness, while immoderate love shuts off [the fulfillment of] right conduct. Therefore the trouble of family [life] often lies in the negligence of rules of propriety which results in members becoming rude to each other. It never has been that the family, in which the seniors lost their dignity and the juniors were unmindful of the respect and obedience they owed to the seniors, did not fall into a state of chaos. Therefore a certain amount of severity and sternness is required in order that 'in the end there will be good fortune.'"—*IC, III, 23b: 13f; 24a: 2–4 (YK, Hex. 37: 6).

(4) Fraternal Love

"Many men of the present day do not understand the love between brothers. When an ordinary man gets some good food, he will first serve it to his parents. Why? Because he deems his parents' satisfaction (lit. mouth) more important than his own satisfaction. When he gets a piece of clothes, he will give it to his parents. Why? Because he deems his parents' bodies more important than his own body. The same is true in his dealings with dogs and horses. He treats his parents' dogs and horses better than his own dogs and horses. But (contrary to this spirit) he loves his parents' sons less than his own. In certain extreme cases, he treats them as enemies. Everywhere you can find such men. They are very stupid indeed!"—IS, XVIII, 45a: 7–10.

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(65) 丁丙, 善本书室藏书志, 光绪 27, 钱塘丁氏自刻本, 16 册
(66) 周毓邠, 汇刻书目, 二编共 30 卷, 民八 (1919)
(67) 江苏省立国学图书馆图书总目
(68) 图书寮汉籍善本书目。
日本宫内省图书寮, 昭和 5 年
(69) 靜嘉堂文库汉籍分类目录
日本, 东京, 昭和五年, (1930)
(70) 内阁文库图书目录, 第一编, 日本

Glossary

A	
Abide in oneness, see chu i	
A Fang Palace	阿房宫
An Lo Hsien Sheng, see Shao Yung	
An Ting, the Master, see Hu Yüan	
Analects	论语
Artifact, see pattern and artifact	
B	
Battle of Ch'ang P'ing, see Ch'ang P'ing	
Board of Rites	礼部
Book of Changes (*Yi King*), see *I*	
Book of Odes, see *Shih King*	
Book of Poetry, see *Shih King*	
C	
Centered in one, see chu i	
(Ceu-tsi), see also Chou Tun-i	周子
Chan Kuo Ts'e	战国策
Chan Wing-tsit	陈荣捷
Ch'an (Buddhism), see Ch'anism	
Chang Chi	张玘
Chang Hung-chung	张闳中
Chang I (Ssu-shu), from Shou An	张绎字思叔寿安人
Chang Kuo (Yang-shu)	张杲, 字旸叔
Chang Pai-hsing	张伯行
Chang Ping-lin (T'ai-yen), see also Bibliog. 2, (31)	章炳麟, 字太炎
Chang Shih (Ch'in-fu, Ching-fu, Nan-hsien) see also Bibliog. 2, (22)	张栻, 字敬夫, 一字钦夫号南轩
Chang Shih Ts'ung Shu: *Chien Lun*, "T'ung Ch'eng", see Bibliog. 2, (31)	

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Y. Ts'ai, *The Philosophy of Ch'eng I*, China Academic Library,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-8566-6

(continued)

Chang Tsai (Tzu-hou), Master Heng Ch'ü	张载, 字子厚, 称横渠先生
Chang Tun	章惇
Chang Tung-sun, see also Bibliog. 2, (40)	张东荪
Chang Tzu Ch'üan Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (11)	
Ch'ang Ch'ien-tao, see Ch'ang Ta-yin	
Ch'ang P'ing, Battle of	长平之战
Ch'ang Ta-yin (Ch'ien-tao)	畅大隐, 字潜道
Ch'anism	禅宗, 禅学
Chao (state of)	赵
Chao Shih K'e Yü	晁氏客语
Che Tsung	哲宗
Ch'e (The hundred mu allotment and the system of Ch'e)	(百亩而) 徹
Ch'en Chen-sun, see also Bibliog. 2, (56)	陈振孙
Ch'en Heng	陈恒
Ch'en Kuei-i	陈贵一
Ch'en Pang-chan, see also Bibliog. 2, (52)	陈邦瞻
Ch'en Yin-k'e	陈寅恪
Ch'en Yüan (Chi-shou)	陈渊, 字畿叟
Cheng, man of	郑人
Cheng I T'ang Ch'üan Shu, Ref. Bibliog. 2, (5), (9), etc.	
Cheng Meng	正蒙
Cheng-shu, see Ch'eng I	
Ch'eng (being true to oneself, sincerity)	诚
Ch'eng, (King), see Wen, Wu, Ch'eng, K'ang	
Ch'eng-Chu School	程朱学派
Ch'eng Hao (Pai-ch'un), the Master Ming Tao	程颢, 字伯淳, 称明道先生
Ch'eng Hua, (Ming)	(明) 成化
Ch'eng I (Cheng-shu), the Master I Ch'uan	程颐, 字正叔, 称伊川先生
Ch'eng Shih Ching Shou	程氏经说
Ch'eng Shih I Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (2), a	
Ch'eng Shih Tsa Shuo	程氏杂说
Ch'eng Tuan-chung	程端中
Ch'eng Tzu Sui Yen	程子粹言
Chi (minister of agriculture under Shun)	稷
Chi (period of twelve years)	纪
Ch'i (state of)	齐
Chi Chi (Hexagram 63)	既济
Chi Ssu (year)	己巳
Ch'i (energy, vital energy, breath)	气
Chia T'ai P'u Teng Lu	嘉泰普灯录
Chiang Chou	江州

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Chiang Nan Shu Chü	江南书局
Chiang Ning	江宁
Chieh (Hexagram 40)	解
Chieh (last emperor of the Hsia Dynasty, a despot)	桀
Chien (Hexagram 39)	蹇
Chien Chou	建州
Chien Chung Ching Kuo	建中靖国
Chien Lun, see Bibliog. 2, (31)	
Chien Yang	建阳
Ch'ien (Hexagram 1)	乾
Ch'ien (Hexagram 15)	谦
Ch'ien Lung	乾隆
Ch'ien Mu, see also Bibliog. 2, (34)–(39), (46)	钱穆
Ch'ien Tseng, see also Bibliog. 2, (61)	钱曾
Chih (notorious brigand of classical time)	跖
Chih (raw material, substance), see substance and pattern	
Chih (to rest)	止
Chih Chai Shu Lu Chieh T'i, see Bibliog. 2, (56)	
Chih Cheng (Yüan)	(元) 至正
Chin (Chap. 4, Footnote 8)	今
Chin (Dynasty)	晋
Chin Hua Ts'ung Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (23)	
Chin Ling	金陵
Chih Ling Shu Chü	金陵书局
Chin-pai, see Lü Chin-pai	
Chin Shih (degree)	进士
Chin Ssu Lu, see bibliog. 2, (21)	
Ch'in (Dynasty, also state of)	秦
Ch'in Tsung	钦宗
Ching (a well)	井
Ching (attitude of reverent devotion)	敬
Ching Shuo, see *Ch'eng Shih Ching Shuo*	
Ching t'ien	井田
Ching Tsung I	经总义
Ch'ing (Dynasty)	清
Ch'ing (feelings, see also Chap. 5, Footnote 11)	情
(Choo Foo Tze) = The Master Chu (Hsi), see Chu His	
Chou (Dynasty)	周
Chou (last emperor of the Shang Dynasty, a despot)	纣
Chou Fu-hsien (Pai-ch'en)	周孚先, 字伯忱
Chou Hsing-chi (Kung-shu)	周行己, 字恭叔

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Chou I Ch'eng Chu Chuan I	周易程朱传义
Chou I Ch'eng Chuan, see *I Chuan*	
Chou I Chuan I	周易传义
Chou I Pen I	周易本义
Chou I Ts'an T'ung Ch'i	周易参同契
Chou Kung-hsien (Pai-wen)	周恭先, 字伯温
Chou Pai-ch'en, see Chou Kung-hsien	
Chou Pai-wen, see Chou Kung-hsien	
Chou Ping (Te-chiu)	邹炳, 字德久
Chou Tao-hsiang	邹道乡
Chou Tun-i (Mao-shu), Master of Lien Ch'i	周敦颐, 字茂叔, 称濂溪先生
Chou Tz'u-ch'en	邹次陈
Chou Yü-pin, see also Bibliog. 2, (66)	周毓邠
Chu (centre for the mind)	(心有) 主
Chu and Chün, see Tan Chu, and Shang Chün	
Chu Ch'ang-wen	朱长文
Chu Hsi (Yüan-hui or Chung-hui), also known as Hui-an	朱熹, 字元晦, 一字仲晦, 号晦庵
Chu i (to abide in oneness, or to be centered in one)	主一
Chu-ke Liang	诸葛亮
Chu Kuang-t'ing (Kung-tan)	朱光庭, 字公掞
Chu Kung-tan, see Chu Kuang-t'ing	
Chu Tzu Ch'üan Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (16)	
Chu Tzu Pien, see Bibliog. 2, (60)	
Chu Tzu Ta Ch'üan, see Bibliog. 2, (17)	
Chu Tzu Yü Lei, see Bibliog. 2, (18)	
Ch'u, man of	楚人
Ch'ü (away from)	去
Chuan Hsü	颛顼
Chüan shou	卷首
Chang Tzu	庄子
Chün, see Shang Chün	
Ch'un Ch'iu (*Spring and Autumn Annals*)	春秋
Ch'un Ch'iu Chuan (*Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals)*	春秋传
Ch'un Yu (Sung)	(宋) 淳祐
Chung (the state of equilibrium; the central self; the mind; the mean; the middle way)	中
Chung Ch'iu (city wall of)	中丘
Chung Hua Book Company	中华书局
Chung Kuo Che Hsüeh Shih, see Bibliog. 2, (44), (45)	

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Chung Kuo Hsüeh Shu Shih Chiang Hua, see Yang Tung-chuan	
Chung Kuo Wen Hua Shih, see Bibliog. 2, (51)	
Chung-ni, see Confucius	
Chung T'ai, see also Bibliog. 2, (45)	钟泰
Chung Yung (the golden mean, also the *Doctrine of the Mean*)	中庸
Chung Yung Chieh	中庸解
Chung Yung I, ref. "Preface to the Chung Yung I"	
Ch'ung Cheng Hall, Ref. Ch'ung Chen Tien Shuo Shu	
Ch'ung Cheng Tien Shuo Shu (Expositor of Canonical Texts at the Ch'ung Cheng Hall)	崇政殿说书
Commentary on the Book of Changes, see *I Chuan*	
Commercial Press	商务印书馆
Complete Works of the Two Masters Ch'eng, see *Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu*	
Confucius (Chung-ni)	孔子, 名丘, 字仲尼
(to) Conquer oneself and return to propriety	克己复礼
Contending States	战国
Corrected Text of the Great Learning	改正大学
Corrected Text of the Wu Ch'eng	改正武成
Correlate (Chap. 6, Footnote 33)	应
Counsellor at the Imperial Court	给谏
(Cu-hi), see Chu His	
D	
Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained Distinction of duties, see Li is one Diversities of duties, or distinction of duties, see Li is one but etc.	太极图说
Divinity	神
Doctrine of the Mean, see Chung Yung	
Duke Ai	哀公
Duke Ching of the state of Ch'i	齐景公
Duke Huan	桓公
Duke of Chou	周公
Duke Yin	隐公
E	
Energy, see Ch'i	
Erh Ch'eng Ch'üan Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (1)	
Erh Ch'eng Hsien Sheng Sui Yen	二程先生粹言
"Erh Ch'eng Hsüeh Shu Shu P'ing", see Bibliog. 2, (34)	
Erh Ch'eng I Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (2)	

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Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen, see Bibliog. 2, (5)	
Erh Ch'eng Tzu Ch'ao Shih	二程子抄释
Erh Ch'eng Tzu I Shu Ch'uan	二程子遗书纂
Erh Ch'eng Wai Shu	二程外书
Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi, see Bibliog. 2, (3)	
Erh Ch'eng Yü Lu	二程语录
"Exceedingly great, exceedingly strong, and straight"	至大至刚以直
Expositor of Canonical Texts at the Ch'ung Cheng Hall, see Ch'ung Cheng Tien Shuo Shu	
F	
Fan chen (governors with both civil and military powers, T'ang Dynasty)	藩镇
Fan Chung-yen (Hsi-wen), Wen Cheng Kung	范仲淹, 字希文, 文正公
Fan Tsu-yü (Ch'un-fu)	范祖禹, 字淳夫
Fang Yüan-ts'ai	方元宋
Fate and luck	命与运
Feng Chung-shu (Kuan-tao)	冯忠恕, 字贯道
Feng Li (Sheng-hsien)	冯理, 字圣先
Fidelity to principle, see love of reputation etc.	
Five constant virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and good faith)	五常 (仁义礼智信)
Five Dynasties	五代, 五季
Five elements	五行
Five Virtues, theory of the, (the Five Powers of the five elements)	五德
Formation, station, destruction and annihilation (four period cycle of history)	成住填空
Forms, see Two Forms	
"Four Admonitions"	四箴
"Four Books of the Ch'engs"	程氏四书
Four Criminals, the	四凶
Four Heavenly Seedlings (lit. four beginnings: namely, benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom)	四端 (仁义礼智)
Four period (cycle of history), see formation, station etc.	
Fu (Hexagram 24)	复
Fu Chou, also called Fu Ling	涪州, 涪陵
Fu Ling, see Fu Chou	
Fung Yu-lan	冯友兰
G	
"Gleanings"	拾遗
Good faith, see five constant virtues	
Great Harmony, the, see "T'ai Ho P'ien"	

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Great Learning (Ta Hsüeh)	大学
Great Middle Way	大中之道
Great Void	太虚
Guarding against evil and preserving the true self	闲邪存诚
H	
Hai, see Kuei Hai	
Han (Dynasty)	汉
Han Chiang	韩绛
Han Chou, see Yü-wen	
Han Fei Tzu	韩非子
Han Lin Academy	翰林院
Han Lin Yüan Hsüeh Shih	翰林院学士
Han River	汉江
Han Shu (*History of the Han Dynasty*)	汉书
Han Wei (Ch'ih-kuo)	韩维, 字持国
Han Yü	韩愈
Hao Jan Chih Ch'i (Life of the Spirit)	浩然之气
Heavenly Seedlings, see Four Heavenly Seedlings	
Heng Ch'ü, see Chang Tsai	
Ho (harmony)	和
Ho Nan Ch'eng Shih Shih Hsi Chih T'u	河南程氏世系之图
Ho Nan Erh Ch'eng Hsien Sheng Wen Chi	河南二程先生文集
Hou Chung-liang (Shih-sheng)	侯仲良, 字师圣
Hou Shih	缑氏
Hsi Hsüeh Chi Yen, see Yeh Shih	
"Hsi Ming" ("Western Inscription" by Chang Tsai)	西铭
Hsi-ning (Sung)	(宋) 熙宁
Hsi Tz'u (YK, Appendix III)	系辞
Hsia (Dynasty)	夏
Hsiang (YK, Appendix II)	(易) 象
Hsiang (brother of Shun)	(舜弟) 象
Hsiang (symbolism)	象
Hsiang Hsiu	向秀
"Hsiang Tang" (*Analects*, Bk. X)	乡党
Hsiao hsüeh (primary school)	小学
Hsiao King (Classis of Filial Piety)	考经
Hsieh Chin-t'ang	谢金堂
Hsieh Liang-tso (Hsien-tao)	谢良佐, 字显道
Hsieh T'ien-shen (Yung-hsiu)	谢天申, 字用休
Hsien Chu	先主
Hsin chih (see Chap. 7, Footnote 58)	心志

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Hsin Tang	新党
Hsin Wei	辛未
Hsing Sha Hsiao Lang Huan Hsien Kuan	星沙小娜嬛仙馆
Hsiung Shih-li	熊十力
Hsü (winter of), see Jen Hsü	
Hsü Kua (YK, Appendix VI)	序卦
Hsü, P. C., (Hsü Pao-ch'ien)	徐宝谦
Hsü Pi-ta	徐必达
Hsü Shih-ch'un (Chung-ming)	徐世淳, 字中明
Hsü Yang-cheng	徐养正
Hsüan Tsung	玄宗
Hsüntze, see Hsün Tzu	
Hsün Tzu	荀子
Hu An-kuo (K'ang-hou), Wen Ting Kung	胡安图, 字康侯, 文定公
Hu Shih	胡适
Hu Tsung-yü	胡宗愈
Hu Yüan (I-chih), Master An Ting	胡瑗, 字翼之, 称安定先生
Huan (king), see Yu, Li, etc.	
Huan T'ui of Sung	宋桓魋
Huang Chen	黄震
Huang-fu Pin	皇甫斌
Huang Shih Jih Ch'ao, see Bibliog. 2, (57)	
Huang, Siu-chi	黄秀玑
Huang Ti	黄帝
Hui, see Yen Hui	
Hui K'e Shu Mu, see Bibliog. 2, (66)	
Hui Neng (Sixth Patriarch of Ch'anism)	慧能
Hui Tsung	徽宗
Hung Chih (Ming)	(明) 宏治
I	
I (*Book of Changes* or *Yi King*)	易; 周易
I (Hexagram 42)	益
I Ch'eng Chuan, see *I Chuan*	
I Chuan (*Commentary on the Book of Changes* by Ch'eng I)	易传, 又名易程传, 周易程传
I Ch'uan Chi, see *I Ch'uan Wen Chi*	
"I Ch'uan Hsien Sheng Nien P'u", see Bibliog. 2, (6), a	
I Ch'uan I Chieh	伊川易解
I Ch'uan Sui Yen	伊川粹言
I Ch'uan Wen Chi	伊川文集
"I Hsü" (also spelled "Yi Hsü")	易序
I-shan, see Lü I-shan	

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I Shu, see *Erh Ch'eng I Shu*	
I Shuo: Hsi Tz'u	易说: 系辞
I Wen Chih, see Bibliog. 2, (54)	
I Yin	伊尹
Imperial Academy	国子监
Imperial counselor	谏官
Investigation of things, see ke wu	
J	
Jen (benevolence; true manhood)	仁
Jen Hsü	壬戌
Jen Tsung	仁宗
Ju Chou	汝州
K	
Kaifeng	开封
K'ai Yüan (T'ang)	(唐) 开元
K'ang (King), see Wen, Wu, etc.	
K'ang Hsi (Ch'ing)	(清) 康熙
K'ang Shao-tsung	康绍宗
Kao P'ing	高平
Kao Tsung	高宗
Kao Tzu	告子
Ke ming	革命
Ke wu (investigation of things)	格物
Ken (Hexagram 52)	艮
Keng Shen	庚申
Kiangsu Kuo Hsüeh T'u Shu Kuan etc., see Bibliog. 2, (67)	
"King of the Scriptures of Immortality" (Tan Shu Wang)	丹书王
King P'ing (see P'ing)	
Ko Text	开本
K'o tzu	诃子
Ku-sao (father of Shun)	瞽叟 (舜父)
Ku I Ts'ung Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (4), b	
Kuan Chung	关中
"Kuan Wu P'ien"	观物篇
Kuang Wu	光武
Kuei Hai	癸亥
Kuei Shan Hsien Sheng Ch'üan Chi, see Bibliog. 2, (13)	
Kuei Yu	癸酉
K'un (Hexagram 2)	坤
K'un Hsüeh Chi Wen, see Bibliog. 2, (55)	

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Kunai Sho Tosho Ryō Kanseki Zenpon Shomoku, Tokyo, the Imperial Household Library. 1930. See Bibliog. 2, (68)	
Kung (all-inclusive impartial interest)	公
Kung-sun Ch'ou	公孙丑
K'ung Wen-chung	孔文仲
Kuo Hsiang	郭象
Kuo Hsüeh Chi Pen Ts'ung Shu, ref. Bibliog. 2, (41), c	
Kuo Hsüeh Kai Lun, see Bibliog. 2, (46)	
Kuo Tzu-i	郭子仪
L	
Lan T'ien	蓝田
"Lang Pa"	狼跋
Laotze, see Lao Tzu	
Lao Tzu, also spelled Laotze: The man or the book. The latter is also called *Tao Te Ching* or *Tao Te King*	老子
Law Academy	律学
Li (natural law)	理
Li (Hexagram 30)	离
Li (King), see Yu, Li etc.	
Li (a measure of distance = about 1/3 mile)	里
Li (wealth, profit)	利
Li Ao	李翱
Li Chih-ts'ai	李之才
Li Ch'u-tun (Chia-chung)	李处遯, 字嘉仲
Li Hsien (Wen-ta)	李贤, 字文达
Li Hsing (rational nature)	理性
Li Hung-chang	李鸿章
"Li is one but there are diversities of duties"	理一分殊
Li Ki	礼记
Li Kuang-ti	李光地
Li Ts'an	李参
Li Yü (Tuan-pai)	李吁, 字端伯
Li Yün	礼运
Lien Ch'i, see Chou Tun-i	
Life of the Spirit, see Hao Jan Chih Ch'i	
Lin Fang	林放
Lin, Prince of Yung	永王璘
Lin Yutang	林语堂
Liu An-chieh (Yüan-ch'eng)	刘安节, 字元承
Liu An Ch'iu Wo Chai	六安求我斋
Liu Hsüan (Chih-fu)	刘绚, 字质夫

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Liu I-cheng, *Chung Kuo Wen Hua Shih*, see Bibliog. 2, (51)	
Liu Kung (Kung-fu)	刘珙, 字共父
Lo Tang (Loyang Party)	洛党
Lo Ts'ung-yen (Chung-su)	罗从彦, 字仲素
Love of reputation and fidelity to principle	名节
Loyang	洛阳
Lu (state of)	鲁
Lu Chiu-yüan (Tzu-ching), Master Hsiang Shan	陆九渊, 字子静, 象山先生
Lu Hsiang-shan, see Lu Chiu-yüan	
Lu-Wang School (Lu Hsiang-shan Wang Yang-ming School)	陆王学派
Lü Chin-pai (Chien-san)	吕进伯 (简三)
Lü Chu-ch'ien (Pai-kung), Master Tung Lai	吕祖谦, 字伯恭, 东莱先生
Lü I-shan	吕义山
Lü Jan	吕楠
Lü Kung-chu	吕公著
Lü Liu-liang	吕留良
Lü Ta-chün, ref. Lü Tzu-chü	
Lü Ta-lin (Yü-shu)	吕大临, 字兴叔
Lü T'ing Chih Chien Ch'uan Pen Shu Mu, see Bibliog. 2, (63)	
Lü Tzu-chü	吕子居, 吕大钧 (和叔) 之子, 一云吕义山之字
Lü Yü-shu, see Lü Ta-lin	
Luck, see Fate	
Lun Yü Chieh, or *Exposition of the Analects*	论语解
Lung Men Tzu, see Bibliog. 2, (60)	
M	
Ma Tuan-lin, etc., see Bibliog. 2, (58)	
Mencius (the man or the book)	孟子
Meng Tzu Chieh, (*Exposition of the Book of Mencius*)	孟子解
Military Academy	武学
Ming (ordinance, appointment; Fate)	命
Ming (Chap. 4, Footnote 8)	命
Ming Ch'eng Hua, see Ch'eng Hua	
Ming Hung Chih, see Hung Chih	
Ming I (Hexagram 36)	明夷
Ming Shih (History of the Ming Dynasty)	明史
Ming Tao (Sung)	(宋) 明道
Ming Tao Chi, see *Ming Tao Wen Chi*	
Ming Tao Wen Chi	明道文集
Mo the Philosopher, see Mo Ti	

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Mo Ti	墨翟
Mo Yu-chih, see also Bibliog. 2, (63)	莫友芝
Mu (a measure of land)	亩
Mysterious way	神道
N	
Naikaku Bunko Tosho Mokuroku, Tokyo, The Cabinet Library, 1890. See Bibliog. 2, (70).	
Neo-Confucianism	理学
Nü Chen Tartars	金
O	
Odes (=Shih King)	
Ou-yang Hsiu	欧阳修
P	
Pa Tao (the Way of the Princely Chieftains)	霸道
Pai Ch'un, the Master, see Ch'eng Hao	
pai mu erh ch'e, see Ch'e	
Pao Jo-yü (Ju-lin, or Shang-lin)	鲍若雨, 字汝霖, 一云商霖
Pao Kao T'ang, see Bibliog. 2, (1), c	
Pattern, see substance and pattern	
Pattern and artifact	象与器
Pei Ch'i	白起
Physical nature	气质之性
Pi Ling	毗陵
P'i (Hexagram 12)	否
Pien (Captial of Sung)	汴
Ping i (the natural law that every man holds, see Chap. 7, Footnote 28)	秉彝
P'ing (King), see Yu, Li, etc.	
Powers, see ts'ai	
"Preface to the Chung Yung I"	中庸义序
"Preface to the Li Ki"	礼序
Preserving the true self, see guarding against evil	
Profound Sayings of the Master Ch'eng	程子微言
Propriety	礼
Pu k'uei wu lou	不愧屋漏
R	
Reader to the Emperor, see Shih Tu	
Reverent devotion, see ching	
S	
San Kang (the three cardinal bonds of relationship)	三纲
Scholar in the Han Lin Academy, see Han Lin Yüan Hsüeh Shih	

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Scriptural Expositor, see also Ch'ung Cheng Tien Shuo Shu	经筵讲官
Seikadō Bunko Kanseki Bunrui Mokuroku, see Bibliog. 2, (69)	
Self-mortifying fidelity to principle	苦节
Shan Pen Shu Shih Ts'ang Shu Chih, see Bibliog. 2, (65)	
Shang (Dynasty)	商
Shang Chün	商均
Shang-lin, see Pao Jo-yü	
Shang Ts'ai	上蔡
Shanghai	上海
Shansi	山西
Shao Sheng (Sung)	(宋) 绍圣
Shao Yung (Yao-fu), A Lo Hsien Sheng	邵雍, 字尧夫, 号安乐先生
Shensi	陕西
Shih (a measure of time, = two hours; time; timely action)	时
Shih Chi	史记
Shih Chieh	石介
Shih Chieh, (*Exposition of the Book of Odes*)	诗解
"Shih Jen P'ien"	识仁篇
Shih King (*Book of Odes*, or *Book of Poetry*)	诗经
Shih Men Lü Shih K'an Pen, ref. Bibliog. 2, (1), c	
Shih Text	时氏本
Shih Tu (Reader to the Emperor)	侍读
Shih Tzu-chih	时紫芝
Shou An, see Chang I	
Shu (reciprocity; placing oneself in the other man's position, like-heartedness)	恕
Shu Chieh (Exposition of the Book of History)	书解
Shu King (Book of History)	书经
Shu Mu Ta Wen Pu Cheng, see Bibliog. 2, (64)	
Shu Tang (Szechuan Party)	蜀党
Shun (Emperor)	舜
Shuo Kua (YK, Appendix V)	说卦
Siu-chi Huang, see Huang, Siu-chi	
Spiritual beings	鬼神
Spring and Autumn Annals, see *Ch'un Ch'iu*	
Ssu Hsiang Yü Shih Tai, ref. Bibliog. 2, (32)	
Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu, see Bibliog. 2, (62)	
Ssu K'u T'i Yao	四库提要
Ssu-ma Kuang	司马光
Ssu Pu Pei Yao	四部备要

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Stillness (of mind)	静
Stumbling block caused by incorrect views of truth (Buddhist theory)	理障
Su Ping (Chi-ming)	苏晒, 字季明
Su Tsung	肃宗
Su Tung-p'o	苏东坡, 讳轼
Substance and pattern (chih and wen)	质与文
Sui (Dynasty)	隋
Sui (Hexagram 17)	随
Sui Yen, see *Erh Ch'eng Sui Yen*	
Sun (Hexagram 41)	损
Sun Chüeh	孙觉
Sun Fu (Ming-fu)	孙复, 字明复
Sung (Dynasty)	宋
Sung, man of	宋人
Sung Ch'eng Ch'un Kung Nien P'u, see Bibliog. 2, (6)	
"Sung I Hsia Chung Kuo Wen Hua Chih Ch'ü Shih", see Bibliog. 2, (39)	
Sung Lien, see also Bibliog. 2, (60)	宋濂
Sung Shih Chi Shih Pen Mo, see Bibliog. 2, (52)	
Sung Shih: I Wen Chih, see Bibliog. 2, (54)	
Sung Yüan Hsüeh An, see Bibliog. 2, (41)	
Supreme Ruler	帝, 上帝
Supreme Ultimate, see T'ai Chi	
T	
Ta Ch'üan Chi	大全集
Ta Hsüeh, see *Great Learning*	
Ta Hsüeh Chang Chü Chi Chu	大学章句集注
"Ta Hsüeh Ku Pen Hsü"	大学古本序
Ta Kuo (Hexagram 28)	大过
Ta Tai Li	大戴礼
Ta Yu (Hexagram 14)	大有
Tai Tung-yüan	戴东原
T'ai (Hexagram 11)	泰
T'ai Chi (the Ultimate, the Supreme Ultimate)	太极
T'ai Chi T'u Shuo, see *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*	
"T'ai Ho P'ien" ("the Great Harmony")	太和篇
T'ai Tsung	太宗
Tan Chu (son of Yao, Prince of Tan, see Chap. 6, Footnote 52)	丹朱
Tan Ya T'ang	澹雅堂

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T'an Shan-hsin	谭善心
T'ang (Dynasty)	唐
T'ang (King)	汤
T'ang Ti (Yen-ssu)	唐棣, 字彦思
Tao	道
Tao Sheng	道生
Tao Te Ching or *Tao Te King*	道德经
Tarter kingdoms in North China, setting up of the	五胡乱华
(Tchang-tze) = Chang Tzu or the Master Chang, see Chang Tsai	
(Tchou Hi) = Chu His	
(Tchu Hi) = Chu Hsi	
(Thai-kih-thu) = *T'ai Chi T'u*, ref. *Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*	
Three cardinal bonds of relationship, see San Kang	
Three Dynasties	三代 (夏商周)
Three Kings (Yü, T'ang, and Kings Wen and Wu counted as one)	三王 (禹, 汤,文武)
Ti K'u	帝喾
"Ti Tung"	蝃蝀
T'i (substance) of the Tao	道体
T'ien Li	天理
T'ien Ming	天命
T'ien Pao (T'ang)	(唐) 天宝
T'ien T'ao	天讨
T'ien Wang	天王
Ting (Hexagram 50)	鼎
Ting (fixed state of contemplation)	定
"Ting Hsing Shu"	定性书
Ting Ping, see also Bibliog. 2, (65)	丁丙
Tosho Ryo Kanseki Zenpon Shomoku, Tokyo, The Imperial Household Library, 1930. See Bibliog. 2, (68)	
Totality of divinity	聚天神而言之
Transmutation of energy	气化
True Original Ch'i, the; or the True Original Vital Energy	真元之气
Tsa Kua (YK, Appendix VII)	杂卦
Ts'ai (powers; material; talent)	才
Ts'ai Ch'en (Chung-mo)	蔡沈, 字仲默
Ts'ai, Yung-ch'un	蔡詠春
"Ts'ai Wei"	采薇
Ts'ao Han	曹翰
Ts'ao Pin	曹彬

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“Tsang Shuo”	葬说
Tseng Ts’an	曾参
Tseng Tzu	曾子
(*Tso Chuan*) = *Tso Chuan*	左传
Tsou Yen	邹衍
Tsun Hsien T’ang	尊贤堂
Ts’un Mu	存目
Tu (to stake) and tu (to see), see Chap. 6, Footnote 42	赌, 睹
Tu Shu Min Ch’iu Chi, see Bibliog. 2, (61)	
Tuan-pai, see Li Yü	
T’uan (YK, Appendix I)	彖
Tung Chung-shu	董仲舒
Tung Hai (filial daughter-in-law of)	东海 (孝妇)
Tung Kao Tzu	东皋子
Tung Lai Chi, see Bibliog. 2, (23)	
Tung Lai Hsien Sheng, see Lü Chu-ch’ien	
Tung Tu Shih Lüeh	东都事客
“T’ung Ch’eng”, see Bibliog. 2, (31)	
T’ung Chih (Ch’ing)	(清) 同治
T’ung Shu	通书
Two Emperors, the (Yao and Shun)	二帝 (尧舜)
Two Forms	两仪
Tzu Ch’eng Tzu	子程子
Tzu-chü, see Lü Tzu-chü	
Tzu-hou, see Chang Tsai	
“Tzu I”	缁衣
Tzu Kung	子贡
Tzu Lu	子路
Tzu Mo	子莫
Tzu Shan T’ang	资善堂
Tzu Ssu	子思
Tzu’u Yüan	辞源
U	
Ultimateless, see Wu Chi	
V	
Vacuity (Buddhist idea of)	空
Vernacular changed into classical style	变语录而文之者也
Vital energy, see Ch’i	
Void, the	太虚
W	
Wai Shu, see *Erh Ch’eng Wai Shu*	

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Wan Yu (Text)	万有文库 (版本)
Wang An-shih	王安石
Wang Hsiang	王祥
Wang Mang	王莽
Wang Pi	王弼
Wang P'in (Hsin-pai)	王蘋, 字信伯
Wang Shou-jen, Master Yang Ming	王守仁, 阳明先生
Wang Tao (the Way of the Sage-Kings)	王道
Wang Tch'ang-tche	王昌祉
Wang Yang-ming, see Wang Shou-jen	
Wang Ying-lin, see also Bibliog. 2, (55)	王应麟
Watanabe, see also Bibliog. 2, (49)	渡边秀方
Wei (Dynasty)	魏
Wei (the prince of, see *Analects* XIII, III, 1)	卫
Wei (to say) and wei (not yet)	谓, 未
Wei Chi (Hexagram 64)	未济
Wei, Francis Cho Min	韦卓民
Wen, King	文王
Wen, see substance and pattern	
Wen Che Yüeh K'an, see Bibliog. 2, (40)	
Wen Chi, See *Erh Ch'eng Wen Chi*	
Wen Ching Kung, see Yang Shih	
Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao, see Bibliog. 2, (58)	
Wen Ting Kung, see Hu An-kuo	
Wen, Wu, Ch'eng, K'ang (the Kings)	文, 武, 成, 康
Wen Yen (YK, Appendix IV)	文言
Wen Yen-po (The Grand Tutor)	文彦博 (太师)
"Western Inscription", see "Hsi Ming"	
"What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?"	颜子所好何学论
Will	志
wisdom, see five constant virtues	
Wu, King	武王
Wu (name of place)	吴
Wu (Non-being)	无
Wu (things; externals)	物
Wu instead of i (Chap. 6, Footnote 4)	物, 乂
Wu Chi (the Ultimateless)	无极
Wu Ch'eng, see Corrected Text etc.	
Wu hsing (human nature with the five constant virtues, Chap. 7, Footnote 5)	五性
Wu hui, also wu t'ou (a poisonous herb)	乌喙, 乌头, 又名草乌头

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Wu Tai, see Five Dynasties	
Wu Ti	五帝
Wu Wang (Hexagram 25)	无妄
Wu Ying Tien edition, ref. Bibliog. 2, (62)	
Y	
Yang, see yin and yang	
Yang, the philosopher	杨子 (杨朱), 扬子 (扬雄)
Yang Hsi-min, see Bibliog. 2, (6)	
Yang Hsiung	扬雄
Yang Ming Ch'üan Shu, see Bibliog. 2, (25), a	
Yang Shih (Chung-li), Wen Ching Kung	杨时, 字中立, 文靖公
Yang Ti (Tsun-tao)	杨迪, 字遵道
Yang Tsun-tao, see Yang Ti	
Yang Tung-chuan, *Chung Kuo Hsüeh Shu Shih Chiang Hua*	杨东莼, 中国学术史讲话
Yang Wen Ching Kung, see Yang Shih	
Yangtze, the	扬子江
Yao (Emperor, a sage-king)	尧
Yeh Shih (Master Shui-hsin), *Hsi Hsüeh Chi Yen*	叶适, 水心先生, 习学记言
Yen Hsi-chai	颜习斋
Yen Hui	颜回
Yen P'ing	延平
"Yen Tzu So Hao Ho Hsüeh Lun", see "What did Yen Hui Love to Learn?"	
Yen Kuang (Tzu-ling)	严光, 字子陵
Yen Yü-hsi (Tzu-yü)	阎禹锡, 字子兴
Yi (Hexagram 42), see I	
Yi-chih, see Hu Yüan	
"Yi Hsü", see "I Hsü"	
Yi King, see *I*	
Yin and Yang	阴阳
"Yin Pen Chi"	殷本纪
Yin T'un	尹焞, 字德充, 和靖处士
Yu, Li, P'ing, Huan (the kings)	幽, 厉, 平, 桓
Yu Cha (Ting-fu)	游酢,字定夫
Yu Ting-fu Hsien Sheng Chi, see Bibliog. 2, (15)	
Yü (Hexagram 16)	豫
Yü (minister of water conservancy under Shun, later king)	禹
Yü Lu	语录
Yü P'an	虞槃
Yü-wen—"Letter Written for My Father Requesting Yü-wen to Accept the Principalship of the Han Chou County Academy"	为家君靖宇文中允典汉州学书

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Yüan (Dynasty)	元
Yüan Feng (Sung)	(宋) 元丰
Yüan Fu (Sung)	(宋) 元符
Yüan Yu (Sung)	(宋) 元祐
Yüeh (state of)	越
Yung Chia	永嘉
Yung-ch'un Ts'ai, see Ts'ai, Yung-ch'un	
Yung-hsiu, see Hsieh T'ien-shen	